



Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-214
Friday
4 November 1988

Daily Report Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-214

CONTENTS

4 November 1988

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Negotiators Discuss Krasnoyarsk Radar in Geneva	1
Geneva Delegation Head Outlines Talks' Status	1
Commentaries Discuss U.S. Stance on ABM Treaty	1
Seeks To Make USSR 'Culprit' [Chernyshev]	1
Ignores Soviet 'Anxiety' [(Potatolov)]	2
Experts End Inspection of U.S. Bases in UK	2
Col Gen Chervov on Need for Disarmament Training	
[East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 25 Oct]	2
Disarmament Envoy Nazarkin on Chemical Weapons	3
'Experts' To Help UN Investigate CBW Use	3
Genscher Welcomes Pact Call for CSCE Results	3

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Gerasimov Holds News Conference 2 November	4
Notes Shevardnadze-Bronfman Talks	4
Notes U.S. Candidates' Remarks	4
Outlines Upcoming State Visits	4
Gerasimov Comments on UN First Committee Debate	5
Emigration Wait for Reunification Cut to 3 Days	5
Shishlin Views Progress of Restructuring	5
Views U.S. Election, Relations	6
UN Assembly Adopts Resolution on Afghanistan	6
Vietnamese, Soviet UN Envoys Speak on Cambodia	7
USSR Votes Against UN Resolution on Cambodia	7
UN Assembly Denounces Israel on Occupied Lands	7
UN Representative on General Assembly Session	8
UN Publishes Warsaw Treaty Disarmament Documents	9
Deputies Send Perez de Cuellar Rights Letter [IZVESTIYA 30 Oct]	9
Adamishin Speaks of UNESCO 'Renaissance'	10
UNESCO Accomplishments Noted on Anniversary [Babenko]	10
INF Inspectors on 'Positive' U.S. Attitude [MOSCOW NEWS 23 Oct]	11
East Bloc Initiatives Unanswered by NATO [PRAVDA 2 Nov]	11
Intersputnik Session Ends; New Head Named	13

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Journal Publishes Article by President Reagan	14
U.S. 'Double Standards' in Afghanistan Condemned [Vavilov]	14
State Department's Solomon Holds Talks in Moscow	15
'Expert' on Cuban Missile Crisis Lessons [Koroteyev]	15

Northeast Asia & Pacific

Commentary Condemns U.S.-Tokyo Military Exercise	15
Katushev Receives DPRK Trade Minister [IZVESTIYA 31 Oct]	16

Near East & South Asia

Bessmertnykh on Troop Pullout From Afghanistan	16
Suspended Due to 'Political Situation'	16
'Explanation' of Soviet Position	17
Pakistan's Downing of Afghan Aircraft Noted	18
Further on Afghan Army Use of Long-Range Weapons	18
Kornilov Applauds Provision of Missiles	19
Public Committee Chairman on Afghan POW's	20
Afghan Council Supports Mecca Peace Talks Plan	20
Further Reportage on Coup Attempt in Maldives	20
India Considering Military Aid	20
Mercenaries Flee Failed Coup	21
Indian External Affairs Minister Arrives 4 Nov	21

East Europe

Further Reportage on Visit of CSSR Premier	21
Daily Profiles Adamec [PRAVDA 31 Oct]	21
Adamec Interviewed on Restructuring	21
Speaks at Kremlin Luncheon [PRAVDA 2 Nov]	22
Assesses Talks With Officials [Prague]	23
Talyzin Attends CSSR National Day Celebration	24
Husak Hails Soviet Ties on CSSR National Day [PRAVDA 28 Oct]	25
CSSR's Stepan Meets With L.N. Zaykov [IZVESTIYA 2 Nov]	25
Received by Solovyev in Leningrad [Prague CTK]	25
Further on Leningrad Visit	26
Western 'Coordinators' of Prague Unrest Condemned	26
LCY Presidium Discusses Upcoming Congress	27
Thatcher Talks With Poland's Rakowski Noted	27
More on Thatcher in Warsaw	27
Karoly Grosz Addresses MSZMP Plenum	27

West Europe

Preparations for Soviet-French Space Flight	28
FRG, French Leaders Begin Talks in Bonn	28

Latin America & Caribbean

Gorbachev Reportedly To Visit Cuba in December [Belgrade TANJUG]	29
Naval Squadron Makes Havana Port Call 3 Nov	29
Salvadoran Rebels Launch New Offensive	29
Argentina Industrial Cooperation Agreement Signed	29
Cables Exchanged on Mexican Independence Anniversary [IZVESTIYA 28 Oct]	30

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Television Reports 3 Nov Politburo Session	31
Gostev, Maslyukov Answer Reporters' Questions	32
Sakharov Discusses Destiny, Pace of Restructuring [Levin in Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII 11 Oct]	35
Second Day of Lithuanian Congress Reported	41
Lithuanian Restructuring Movement Draft Program [Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 12 Oct]	44

Lithuanian CC Considers Economic, Social Issues [Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA 7 Oct]	50
Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Issues Social Decrees	50
Ukase on National Symbols [Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA 7 Oct]	50
Decree on Lithuanian Language [Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA 7 Oct]	51
Lithuanian Freedom League Demonstration Described [Yanov in Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA 1 Oct]	52
Latvian Editors Challenge Cuts in Distribution [Dozortsev in Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH 7 Oct]	54
Balto-Slavic Society Prepares Manifesto	55
Manifesto Outlines Goals [Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH 24 Sep]	55
Letter to Latvian Presidium [Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH 24 Sep]	55
Profitable Cooperative Appeals Shutdown Order [S. Guluch, M. Kardashina in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 20 Oct]	56
Chernobyl Link With Child Illness Ruled Out [AFP]	58

Agricultural

Gorbachev Addresses CPSU CC on Food Supply	58
Food Supply Main Issue	59

Negotiators Discuss Krasnoyarsk Radar in Geneva
*LD0211114988 Moscow TASS in English 1127 GMT
2 Oct 88*

[Text] Geneva November 2 TASS—A meeting of Soviet and American representatives ended here today. Specialists from both sides discussed the problem of the transformation of the Krasnoyarsk radar station into a centre of international cooperation for a peaceful exploration and use of outer space, the way it had been proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev on September 16, 1988.

Soviet and American experts touched upon problems connected with practical steps to be taken for lifting the concern of the American side with regard to the Krasnoyarsk radar station.

A Soviet delegation was led by Viktor Karpov, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, and an American delegation by William Burns, directors of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Geneva Delegation Head Outlines Talks' Status
*LD0311190388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 3 Nov 88*

["Excerpt" of interview with Ambassador Obukhov, head of the USSR delegation to the Geneva disarmament talks, by unidentified Moscow Radio correspondent in Geneva; date not given—recorded]

[Text] You no doubt know that USSR-U.S. disarmament talks are under way in Geneva. Ways of resolving the question of reducing by one-half the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States are being discussed. The talks are not proceeding smoothly. A multitude of complex problems—which Soviet and U.S. diplomats are tackling—are being encountered. This topic is the subject of an interview granted to our correspondent in Geneva by Ambassador Obukhov, head of the USSR delegation to the talks.

[Begin Obukhov recording] A certain amount of headway has been made, although one would of course prefer matters to proceed more rapidly. As far as specific documents under discussion are concerned, the following is involved: above all a draft joint treaty on 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive weapons. Related to it is a memorandum of understanding on underlying data, and two protocols—on inspections and elimination. As for the current, most important areas of activity by the delegations, it has to be said that at the moment particularly great attention is being devoted to agreement on questions linked to the monitoring [kontrol] of mobile IBM [intercontinental ballistic missile] launchers. That is the first thing. Second, much attention is being devoted to the question of limitations on long-range, air-launched cruise missiles and heavy bombers. [end recording]

Commentaries Discuss U.S. Stance on ABM Treaty

Seeks To Make USSR 'Culprit'
*LD0311174788 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT
3 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 3 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev: Washington keeps harping on the issue of the Krasnoyarsk radar station. Charles Redman, a State Department spokesman, said at a briefing Wednesday [2 November] that the construction of this station was a serious violation of the treaty on the limitation of anti-ballistic missiles systems (ABM) and should be dismantled without any conditions.

The USSR has stated on more than one occasion that the afore-mentioned radar is designed to monitor space objects and its creation by no means falls under the ABM Treaty. Data regarding the purpose and characteristics of the station, showing that it cannot be used either for accomplishing the tasks of warning against a missile attack or as an ABM radar station were handed over to the American side.

Displaying good will, our country discontinued all work at the Krasnoyarsk radar station back in October 1987 and to remove contentious issues it came up with the proposal in September 1988 for setting up on the basis of this station a center for international cooperation in peaceful exploration and use of outer space. This center could be included into a world space organisation system. The Soviet Government made the decision to put the Krasnoyarsk radar at the disposal of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

It would seem that everything is being done on our part so that nobody call in question the actual purpose and future use of the station in Krasnoyarsk. Nevertheless, it appears that it does not serve the purpose of the American side to lift this far-fetched issue from the agenda. What are the reasons behind this, what objectives do they in Washington pursue?

Noteworthy above all is the similarity of the campaign on a "violation" by the Soviet Union of the ABM Treaty with the same campaign which preceded in late 1986 the final renunciation by the U.S. Administration of its commitments under the SALT-2 Treaty. At that point it embarked on the path of a further realization of the American comprehensive strategic programme.

Washington is now faced with the dilemma: either to observe the ABM Treaty or renounce its plans to create a large-scale ABM system for the country. The advocates of the "Strategic Defence Initiative" pronounce rather openly on this score. Specifically, a report of the Republican Party Political Committee, compiled last month, bluntly says that the ABM Treaty should not hamper the United States to conduct tests and work in the field of SDI. It should be either changed or abrogated.

Nonetheless, in Washington they realize that the United States' withdrawal from the ABM Treaty would cause a serious political damage on the international scene. This is precisely why the administration seeks to project the Soviet side as a culprit of undercutting the ABM Treaty and does not respond to any realistic Soviet proposals.

At the same time, American representatives pass over in silence the USSR's claims as regards the violation by the United States of the ABM Treaty, such as, in part, the deployment of a large phased-array radar in Greenland and the building of an analogous radar station in Britain.

It is perfectly clear that if Washington was really concerned about scrupulous fulfillment of the ABM Treaty, it would not have allowed the afore-mentioned violations. This fact, too, demonstrates that those who engineered the campaign linked with the Soviet radar are guided far from the interests of preserving the ABM Treaty. The objectives they are after are totally different.

Ignores Soviet 'Anxiety'

OW0111063288 *Moscow International Service*
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 29 Oct 88

[Text] Listeners: The Soviet Government has announced that it will, as always, take a serious and responsible attitude in dealing with all questions on observing the provisions of the 1972 ABM Treaty, and that it will take measures aimed at consolidating the implementation of these provisions. What is the essence of these measures? Our military observer (Potatolov) comments:

I am going to talk about the future of the Krasnoyarsk radar station and the components of the demolished mobile radar station described by the Pentagon as [words indistinct], which are stored in Geyeli and Moscow. As a serviceman, I have every reason to say that these have nothing to do with the ABM Treaty.

The Krasnoyarsk radar station, the construction of which was discontinued a year ago, was an installation established for the sole purpose of tracking objects in space. Some components of the demolished mobile radar station will be used for the national economy. I think the United States is clear on this. Some U.S. congressmen visited the Krasnoyarsk radar station, and U.S. experts inspected the mobile radar station components in Geyeli and Moscow. Yet the United States still alleges that these installations are in violation of the ABM Treaty. Here, I must reiterate that these allegations are entirely groundless. The United States wants to use these allegations to defend its own acts that go against the treaty and to obstruct the agreement on a 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons.

To dismiss the accusations, even though they are groundless, the Soviet Union has decided to transfer the Krasnoyarsk radar station to the Academy of Sciences and to destroy some components of the demolished mobile radar station in Geyeli and Moscow. As can be seen from

its reaction, the United States is surprised by the Soviet decision. At this time, however, we cannot see anything to show that the United States has any intention of changing its negative position. In addition, I want to say that the United States has not adopted a clear-cut attitude toward the anxiety expressed in the Soviet Government's statement on U.S. violations of the ABM Treaty.

Experts End Inspection of U.S. Bases in UK

LD0311003388 *Moscow Domestic Service in Russian*
2100 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] The 3-day stay of a group of Soviet military experts in Great Britain, in keeping with the clauses on inspections under the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, has ended. Ten Soviet specialists visited the U.S. military air bases at Molesworth and Greenham Common, where U.S. cruise missiles were deployed. According to a representative of the U.S. side, by now all missiles of this class and the launchers which were at the Molesworth base have already been transported to the United States and will be destroyed, as envisaged in the previously reached agreement.

Col Gen Chervov on Need for Disarmament Training

AU2710152088 *East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND*
in German 25 Oct 88 p 4

[Unattributed interview with Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, chief of the Treaty and Legal Directorate of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces: "Training for Disarmament"; date and place not given]

[Text] BERLINER ZEITUNG: Let us imagine that, one day, not only will the INF treaty be ratified, but chemical weapons will have been banned, too. In addition, the strategic offensive missiles of the USSR and the United States will have been halved and in Europe the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments will have been agreed upon. Is the Soviet Defense Ministry—in view of such prospects—considering introducing a new training branch, the branch of "disarmament officers"?

Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, USSR Defense Ministry: This is an absolutely serious question. Just consider the INF treaty: In line with this treaty, each side has to train 200 inspectors for continual controls—that is, people who will periodically live in the United States or in the USSR in order to verify the observance of the treaty. In addition, there will be 200 inspectors who will carry out controls where there is suspicion, and, furthermore, the aircraft crews. Something like this has to be well prepared. One cannot simply decide: You and you will become inspectors. Special courses are necessary for this purpose, which we—like the U.S. side—have already held.

Training the inspectors, however, is only one aspect. How many people are needed to bring about the reduction in the missiles themselves! To monitor and start the destruction of the missiles. They were not prepared to destroy these weapons. We had to train them, too. In other words, one needs a considerable amount of personnel to implement the INF treaty.

If, however, a chemical-weapons ban is agreed upon, if the strategic missiles are halved, etc., we will need a large army of inspectors and experts to deal with the destruction of the weapons. Therefore, the question is entirely justified—and in fact we are already working on it.

Disarmament Envoy Nazarkin on Chemical Weapons
*LD0311121288 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 2215 GMT 1 Nov 88*

[Text] New York, 2 Nov (TASS)—The Geneva disarmament conference now has at its disposal everything required for switching from exchanging opinions to working out responsible solutions. On Tuesday [1 November] USSR representative Yu. K. Nazarkin made a statement on this at a meeting of the first committee of the 43d session of the UN General Assembly.

The activity of the UN special committee on chemical weapons, for example, confirms such a conclusion. Over the last 2-3 years, in what is as yet the sole negotiating area of the conference's work, it has been possible to achieve a genuine breakthrough on the path toward drawing up a convention on the universal, complete, and strictly verifiable prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons and the industrial base for their manufacture.

We consider the beginning of practical multilateral talks at the disarmament conference to draw up a treaty on a universal ban on nuclear tests to be an urgent necessity, the Soviet representative said. When the first steps in the sphere of real nuclear disarmament are being taken, the achievement of this aim becomes even more topical as a measure which is capable of accelerating the process of freeing the planet from nuclear weapons, of setting up a reliable barrier on the road to their quality being improved, and of making unshakeable the regime of nonproliferation.

One of the priorities of the international community is to prevent an arms race in space, the USSR representative said. He proposed that the General Assembly unanimously call for an urgent start on multilateral talks to ban the arms race in space at the disarmament conference.

'Experts' To Help UN Investigate CBW Use
*LD0411091388 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1825 GMT 3 Nov 88*

[Excerpts] New York, 3 Nov (TASS)—UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar today published a report on the work of the group of qualified experts on chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons [CBW]. [passage omitted]

At the request of the UN secretary-general, a number of states offered their thoughts on the possibilities for cooperation in the work of the group of experts. The Soviet Union pointed out that it roundly condemns and will continue to condemn the use of chemical or bacteriological weapons in violation of the Geneva protocol of 1925. Any violation is intolerable, runs counter to the norms of civilization, and cannot be justified by any consideration. In advocating the consolidation of the Geneva protocol, the USSR intends to support the investigations by the UN secretary general into reports on the possible use of chemical and bacteriological (biological) or toxin weapons.

The USSR has informed the UN secretary general about a number of experts assigned to take part in the investigations into cases of the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons who can, if necessary, depart immediately to any location for investigations. The USSR is also ready to provide laboratory facilities to carry out analyses in connection with such investigations.

Genscher Welcomes Pact Call for CSCE Results
*LD3110093588 Moscow TASS in English 0749 GMT
31 Oct 88*

[Text] Bonn October 31 TASS—The Federal Government hails a call by the committee of the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers for achieving impressive and positive results in the near future at the Vienna meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This was pointed out in a statement by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, West German deputy federal chancellor and foreign minister, who is now on a visit in China.

A successful completion of the Vienna meeting, the meeting noted, will open a way for talks on reduction of conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals and creation of stability in Europe, which conforms to the interests of the FRG and the North Atlantic alliance as a whole. The Bonn government is also ready to examine a proposal on convocation of a European summit with the participation of the USA and Canada to discuss questions of control over conventional weapons. During the Moscow talks, Genscher said, the sides came to the unanimous opinion that creation of stability in this sphere at the lowest level of armaments was a priority problem.

Gerasimov Holds News Conference 2 November

Notes Shevardnadze-Bronfman Talks

LD0211143488 Moscow TASS in English
1418 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—Today Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR received Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress (WJC), who is visiting here, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, announced at a briefing today.

During the meeting Edgar Bronfman pointed out that a positive view of the restructuring and democratisation processes taking place in the Soviet Union was increasingly taking root among the U.S. public at large.

He voiced an intention of the WJC to promote positive development of East-West relations and to stimulate the search for ways to settle regional conflicts and first of all the one in the Middle East.

"The Soviet side emphasised", the spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry said, "that the assertion of the new political thinking and a transition to collective methods of resolving global problems are increasingly characteristic of the current international situation."

"At the same time it was pointed out that there still are regions where a tense situation is keeping on despite the efforts which are being made to undo conflicts, including the Middle East one. The situation in the region cannot but arouse common concern."

"A broad consensus has now developed in the international community in favour of achieving peace in the area as soon as possible through the convocation of an international conference with the participation of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and of the parties directly involved in the conflict. It is essential to intensify the process of preparation for such a conference and to utilise the potential of the international community. The idea of a preparatory committee for convocation of such a conference, the idea which is getting increasing support, could play a useful role in this respect. Whether such a conference will become a reality depends in many respects on the Israeli Government's approach. A settlement of the conflict would accord with the basic interests of all the people in the region."

"The Soviet Union, for its part, is ready to make its contribution to the development of the peace process in the region and to continue to maintain contacts with all the parties concerned, including those with Israel, with a view to directing the Middle East peace process into the field of practical solutions."

"At the request of Edgar Bronfman, Eduard Shevardnadze gave detailed explanations concerning the real state of affairs in such issues as emigration from the USSR, including that of Jews, the freedom of the profession of worship, cultural and educational activities".

The Soviet side pointed out that due attention was being paid to the entire spectrum of matters concerning inter-ethnic relations within the framework of building a rule-of-law socialist state in the USSR.

Edgar Bronfman expressed gratitude for the explanations.

Notes U.S. Candidates' Remarks

LD0211144588 Moscow TASS in English
1435 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—"We stand for preserving a sense of momentum in the top-level Soviet-American dialogue, for it not to have artificial and unnecessary pauses", Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing here today.

He drew journalists' attention to the speech of George Bush, a U.S. presidential candidate, in Indiana, in which he stated that if he becomes president, he will be ready to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev within the shortest terms. "This is not the first statement by George Bush, in which he speaks about willingness to preserve the practice of regular Soviet-American summit meetings to discuss pivotal issues", Gerasimov stressed. "Certainly, the Soviet side welcomes this. Michael Dukakis, the Democratic presidential candidate, voiced in the same vein. We note with satisfaction that the line for developing the political dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, the dialogue at top level included, enjoys bipartisan support in the United States".

Movement to promote this dialogue [words indistinct] disarmament, enhancing stability and improving international climate on the whole should be continued without artificial gaps. In this case a good deal can be attained, Gerasimov pointed out.

The practice of summit meetings is of critical importance to further progress in the Soviet-American dialogue in the spirit of constructive continuity. "This is why you can interpret this statement as the wish not to delay for long a summit meeting with a new U.S. president", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Outlines Upcoming State Visits

LD0211152688 Moscow TASS in English
1432 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—The arrival in Moscow on November 3 of Natwar Singh, India's state minister for external affairs, has to do with preparations for Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to that country. The date

of the visit will be announced officially somewhat later, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing here today.

We in the Soviet Union, he went on to say, give a positive assessment to the results of the meeting of the presidents of the major Latin American countries, held in the town of Punta del Este. The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman specifically noted the provision, contained in that meeting's final document, to the effect that the new situation in the relations between states favours peace on earth and creates the possibility for releasing the means for the establishment of a more just and equitable international economic order.

The purpose of the visit of the official delegation from Qatar to the USSR, which begins today, Gennadiy Gerasimov also said, is to discuss concrete issues having to do with the recent establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries as well as international and regional problems.

Reporting on the visit by an American military delegation to the headquarters of the group of Soviet troops in Germany, Gennadiy Gerasimov said that the military contacts which are pursued in the general mainstream of the Soviet-American dialogue, contribute to a better mutual understanding and greater trust between the two countries.

Questioned about shipments of Soviet arms to Afghanistan, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that, since the other side continues to arm the irreconcilable opposition, the Soviet Union is forced to provide extra military assistance to the Government of Afghanistan. He stressed in the process that no aggressive designs against Pakistan are at issue.

Gerasimov Comments on UN First Committee Debate
LD0311223388 Moscow Domestic Service
in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] In Moscow today a briefing on current issues of international politics took place at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center. Soviet and foreign journalists were addressed by Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Department. In particular he provided an assessment of the general debate in the first committee of the UN General Assembly, which has ended. This is what he said:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] Our general impression of the progress of this debate is good. This year the work of the first committee in many respects proceeded under the influence of the ideas and proposals expressed at the third special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament in the summer. The second factor that in our view contributed to giving the debate a constructive

and non-confrontational character was the beginning of real nuclear disarmament as a result of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

During the general debate, concern over taking the arms race into space and anxiety over the danger of proliferation of nuclear weapons were expressed. Much attention was paid to the problem of banning nuclear tests and to chemical weapons. It seems to us that the positive tone of the speeches of our Soviet delegates and also the delegates of other socialist countries made a favorable impression on the representatives of many countries. On the whole, in our view, the debate in the first committee was constructive and fruitful. [end recording]

Emigration Wait for Reunification Cut to 3 Days

LD0311202988 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman has said the Soviet Union cannot in principle agree with claims that its citizens are persecuted for political or religious convictions. Speaking in connection with the publication in the West of lists of alleged Soviet political prisoners, he stressed that many of the prisoners on that list have been released. Eleven people were still serving terms for spreading patently false information about the Soviet state and for infringing on other people's rights under the pretext of religious practice.

Twenty-five mental patients were under forcible psychiatric treatment following the court's expert ruling on their mental distress, passed in trying criminal cases.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said that before the end of this year the draft of a new penal code would be submitted for a nationwide discussion.

It was also announced at the briefing that the Soviet Union had 5,000 applications to emigrate. The time of considering such applications for family reunions has been drastically cut, in some cases to 3 days.

Shishlin Views Progress of Restructuring

LD0311130088 Moscow TASS in English
1241 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 3 TASS—"Over slightly more than three years of perestroika (restructuring), Soviet society has traversed a huge distance. perestroika has pervaded all sectors of our life," said Nikolay Shishlin, senior official of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Today he took part in a news conference dealing with perestroika in the USSR.

The news conference was organized for the participants in the recently concluded meeting of journalists of the participating countries of the Conference on Security

and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The meeting discussed the subject "Journalists in Europe: How we visualise our common home and one another".

The first real achievements in the restructuring process are in the creation of a new ethical atmosphere in the country and in foreign-policy successes, Nikolay Shishlin said. "perestroika is not a one-off result. Therefore the process should be measured not only by short-term goals but also by medium- and long-term ones", he emphasised.

Nikolay Shishlin pointed out that efforts in the period of the attainment of medium-term goals should be focussed—in the first estimates which may prove incomplete ones—on effecting a radical economic reform and a reform of the political system of the society.

As far as long-term goals are concerned, the point is to create a new, truly democratic model of socialist society which would accord with the ideals of the Great October Socialist Revolution the 71st anniversary of which will be marked soon, Nikolay Shishlin said.

Views U.S. Election, Relations

LD0311143088 Moscow TASS in English
1351 GMT
3 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 3 TASS—Perestroika (restructuring) in the USSR has pervaded all aspects of life in the country. Such is the opinion of prominent Soviet experts—economists, sociologists, political scientists who met today at the press centre of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the participants in the recently concluded Moscow meeting of journalists of the participating countries of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) on the subject "Journalists in Europe: How We Visualise Our Common Home and One Another".

Nikolay Shishlin, senior official of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, and Otto Lacis, first deputy editor-in-chief of the KOMMUNIST, journal of the CPSU central Committee, cited concrete examples of changes for the better. The rise in labour productivity has markedly quickened, and for the first time in the country's history, material production grows simultaneously with an absolute cutdown in the number of those employed, and the rate of housing construction has appreciably increased.

Valeriy Savitskiy, professor at the Institute of the State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, emphasised that no economic transformations can be a success if they are not backed by substantial changes in the political system. This is precisely the purpose of the package of decisions adopted at the 19th all-union conference of

the party. He recalled in this connection that two major draft laws—on suggested changes in the Constitution of the USSR and on a new electoral system—are now under discussion.

Touching upon Soviet foreign policy matters, specifically prospects for the development of Soviet-American relations, Nikolay Shishlin pointed out that "whoever wins at the forthcoming elections in the United States, there will be no pause in the Soviet-American dialogue. I am convinced that the period between November 8 and January 20 will be likewise filled with intensive work in Soviet-American relations".

UN Assembly Adopts Resolution on Afghanistan
LD0311235888 Moscow TASS in English
2342 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 4 TASS—TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev reports:

The U.N. General Assembly welcomed the conclusion in Geneva under the United Nations auspices of the agreements on the settlement related to Afghanistan which are an important step toward a comprehensive political solution of the Afghan problem.

Without voting, on the basis of a consensus, the U.N. General Assembly adopted on Thursday a resolution of the situation in Afghanistan, calling for profound respect and conscientious implementation of the Geneva accords of all the parties involved, which should fully adhere to their spirit and letter.

The General Assembly pointed to insistent need for a comprehensive political settlement, emphasizing the importance of an inter-Afghan dialogue, the vital need for the preservation of Afghanistan's sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and nonaligned status.

The international community urged the United Nations secretary-general and his personal representative to facilitate an early achievement of political settlement in Afghanistan in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva agreements and the given resolution.

The draft resolution had been presented by the chairman of the 43rd session of the General Assembly, Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship Dante Caputo, who said that the signing of the Geneva accords was one of the most important international events of the recent period which has vast positive consequences.

The agreements virtually confirmed the goals and principles sanctified by the United Nations Charter, Caputo said. They are a thoroughly balanced package of agreements assumed by the sides, whose implementation will pave the road to a comprehensive political settlement by opening a dialogue among all Afghans and creating a broad representative government. The world-wide

importance of this settlement is that it confirms and promotes tendencies of the quest of solutions of international differences through talks. In this connection the Geneva accords began a positive process which is now spread to other major regional conflicts and which considerably altered and improved the overall situation in which differences and conflicts traditionally prevailed.

Caputo emphasized that strict observance of the spirit and letter of the Geneva accords by all the parties involved is of fundamental importance now.

He also urged the international community to be equal to the responsibility facing it and give full political support to these accords.

Vietnamese, Soviet UN Envoys Speak on Cambodia
LD0311190288 Moscow TASS in English
1820 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 3 TASS—TASS Correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev reports:

The discussion of the situation in Kampuchea was started at the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly on Wednesday. In the opinion of most speakers participating in the debate, the past year saw a number of positive changes in South East Asia and as a result of the efforts of countries of Indochina, Indonesia and other members of the Association of South East Asian Nations.

Favourable factors for a political solution to the Kampuchean problem developed in the region, Vietnam's permanent representative to the United Nations Trinh Xuan Lang said, specifically. He called the attention of the international community to the results of an open exchange of opinions held last summer in Jakarta during an unofficial meeting of the Kampuchean sides and two groups of countries of South East Asia. The results of the Jakarta meeting, as well as mutual understanding achieved by Prince Sihanouk and chairman of the council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea Hun Sen ended a deadlock that existed over the past decade and laid a groundwork for a political settlement to the Kampuchean problem. The Vietnamese representative confirmed the resolve of the governments of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea to conclude the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers by the end of 1990 and even earlier, if a political settlement of the problem is achieved.

The process started in Jakarta is welcomed in the Soviet Union. It is viewed as a development of a regional dialogue aimed at finding solutions that would suit the aspirations of the Kampuchean people and promote normalisation of the situation in South East Asia, said USSR permanent representative to the United Nations Aleksandr Belonogov. We view the meetings between Hun Sen and Sihanouk as a consistent implementation

of the line at national reconciliation in Kampuchea and we hope that positive steps toward bringing closer the positions of the sides made there will be consolidated at a new meeting that will start in several days in Paris, he said. Practical assistance to the restoration of peace and achievement of national reconciliation in Kampuchea assume special importance in this connection. The Soviet Union is prepared to do its utmost to promote solutions to the Kampuchean problem and to participate alongside other permanent members of the Security Council in guarantees of arrangements, the Soviet representative said.

USSR Votes Against UN Resolution on Cambodia
LD0311233588 Moscow TASS in English
2319 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 4 TASS—TASS Correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev reports: The UN General Assembly ended discussion on Kampuchea on Thursday [3 November]. Most participants noted that positive changes have taken place in South-Asia this year, above all the beginning of a direct four-sided dialogue to reach mutually acceptable compromises and efforts of ASEAN and the countries of Indochina.

The participants in the session pointed out the growing understanding in the region that the Kampuchean problem should be solved only by peaceful means and by the Kampucheans themselves on the basis of national reconciliation and negotiations between all the sides involved in the conflict.

UN representatives urged the international community to prevent the restoration of genocide in Kampuchea.

A resolution adopted by 122 votes (the majority) reflects new positive changes in the situation around Kampuchea. For example, it contains a provision on the non-return to the generally-denounced policy and practices of the recent past in Kampuchea. At the same time, some of its provisions are still unobjective.

Nineteen delegations, including the Soviet, voted against the resolution and 13 abstained.

USSR permanent representative to UNO A.M. Belonogov noted it would be better if the General Assembly, in the spirit of mutual interest in a prompt elimination of the conflict would take the course at the consolidation and development of everything positive and rational that emerges in South-East Asia.

UN Assembly Denounces Israel on Occupied Lands
LD0411112188 Moscow TASS in English
0946 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 4 TASS—The General Assembly of the United Nations Organizations Thursday [3 November] denounced Israel's practices on the occupied Arab territories.

The resolution, taken after a report by the U.N. special committee to investigate Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the population of the occupied territories, expresses profound concern over the dangerous situation on the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories.

The document blames the current situation there on Israeli practices, including firing at Palestinian civilians, cruel beatings and deportations.

The United States and Israel were the only two countries that opposed the resolution in blatant defiance of the world public opinion on the crucial Middle East problem.

Representatives of Jordan, Senegal, Zimbabwe, Norway and other nations that took part in the discussion denounced clashes between Israel and the population of the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip as the cause of ever new Palestinian casualties, including women and children.

The reasons behind continued tensions there—Israeli occupation of Arab lands and violation of the Palestinians' rights (first of all the right to self-determination and their own statehood)—are an open secret for the majority of the U.N. members.

To change the situation, it is imperative that the Israeli authorities immediately stop their illegal practices and strictly abide by the 1949 Geneva Convention, the delegates emphasized.

The world community sees those practices by Israel as blocking the establishment of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

Aleksandr Belonogov, permanent representative of the USSR at the United Nations, said that to begin progress for peace, both sides should be willing to start moving toward it. (Belonogov addressed the session as the representative of the group of East European countries).

In a recently published statement, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) underscored its commitment to search for a political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The statement reflected the PLO's intention to work for a Middle East peace settlement on the basis of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the recognition of the Palestine people's right for self-determination within the framework of an international conference under the U.N. aegis (the conference must involve the five permanent members of the Security Council and all the parties concerned, including the PLO and Israel).

According to the Soviet representative, this approach to the settlement format reflected the recent positive change in the PLO stand.

However, the Israeli leadership had yet failed to respond to that balanced line, Belonogov regretted.

The Soviet representative underlined one condition as indispensable for achieving peace in the Middle East: Neither of the peoples living there should regard the exercise of its rights as violation of the rights of other peoples.

UN Representative on General Assembly Session
LD0311094288 Moscow TASS in English
0847 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 3 TASS—TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev reports:

The general debate on all disarmament issues ended at the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly on Wednesday [2 November].

The delegates of about 150 countries set out their governments' viewpoints on disarmament issues which are the key items on the agenda of the international community. The principal conclusion drawn by them is that the favourable international political atmosphere creates unprecedented prerequisites for achieving real disarmament measures and for developing and backing the real process of nuclear disarmament by multilateral accords.

The opinion of Douglas Roche (Canada), chairman of the first committee (political, security, including disarmament) is that the speeches made by participants in the debate are of positive nature devoid of confrontation. Instead of jumping on one another, the delegates jointly sought to look for constructive approaches to solutions to problems. This created a good basis for the committee's work.

"The businesslike and non-confrontational nature of the debate provides good opportunities for agreeing on mutually acceptable solutions", pointed out Yuriy Nazarkin, representative of the USSR. "We regard this as a reflection of positive changes in the development of the international situation which is characterized by a tendency towards intensifying and broadening the political dialogue".

"Such a dialogue has already made it possible to push away the threat of war. It is now of importance to consolidate the changes and to give continuous and onward character to the disarmament process which has been started", the Soviet representative said.

The participants in the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly point out that the first committee has good opportunities for promoting the accomplishment of this task at next stage of the work—decision-making. Several tens of draft resolutions on key issues of disarmament have already been submitted to the committee for consideration. These include, in particular, specific proposals on ending the arms race on earth and on preventing

an arms race in outer space, on comprehensively banning nuclear tests and chemical weapons, on limiting the military threat at seas, and on verification measures.

UN Publishes Warsaw Treaty Disarmament Documents
LD0311231588 Moscow TASS in English
2114 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 3 TASS—The communique and the statement on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe, which were adopted by the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers' Committee in Budapest on October 28-29, were published today as official documents of the U.N. General Assembly.

They confirm, in part, the readiness of the Warsaw Treaty member states to do everything depending on them in the future as well to ensure a genuine breakthrough in world politics toward promoting peace, disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, forging extensive mutually beneficial cooperation on the basis of equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and all other universally-recognized principles and standards of international law.

Deputies Send Perez de Cuellar Rights Letter
PM0311154788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Letter from USSR Parliamentary Group to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar: "Letter from USSR Parliamentary Group"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] On 28 October UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar was presented with a letter of the following content, approved at a general meeting of the USSR Parliamentary Group:

Esteemed Mr Secretary General,

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted 40 years ago by the UN General Assembly was essentially the first document in the practice of international relations to formulate a broad spectrum of provisions affecting basic human rights and freedoms. This declaration became the basis of the activity of the United Nations' activity aimed at developing international cooperation in the humanitarian field. That is why the date the Universal Declaration was adopted—10 December—is celebrated in the majority of states, including the Soviet Union, as Human Rights Day.

The USSR Parliamentary Group, which unites all USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, unanimously notes that the declaration has exerted and continues to exert substantial influence on the assertion of the principle of respect for human rights in international relations, and in the legislation and legal practice of the majority of members of the world community. It is an important factor in, and a stimulating influence on, the progressive development

of the norms of international law. The Universal Declaration is cited in universal and regional conventions. The resolutions of conferences of the United Nations and other international organizations are based upon it. It has activated the process of elaborating uniform international civilized standards in the human rights field. The human rights pacts and other agreements later elaborated on the basis of the declaration have become a kind of all-embracing code, an amalgam of basic principles and norms in this sphere.

The Soviet Union shares the objectives and principles of the Universal Declaration. It has ratified pacts on human rights and conventions connected with human rights. Work is under way in our country to bring domestic legislation into line with international commitments stemming from these documents. We urge other states to take a similar path.

Man and his needs and concerns are the center of attention of the Soviet socialist society. The intensification of the citizen's socioeconomic, political, and individual rights and freedoms and the consolidation of their guarantees are assessed by USSR Supreme Soviet deputies as their paramount duty. At the same time the Soviet Union does not conceal existing difficulties and unresolved problems. Persistent work is under way in our country to form the socialist rule-of-law state, to comprehensively develop democracy and glasnost, and to create conditions ensuring the pluralism of opinions and views and taking account of the multiplicity of interests of all social groups and national and other communities of people.

The Soviet Union is prepared for broad bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the humanitarian field. We approach human rights as the problem of the embodiment of the progressive ideals of social justice and at the same time as a compulsory component of world security. And we are encouraged by the tendency which has emerged toward building up constructive cooperation at humanitarian forums, whose work was until recently characterized by confrontation. We hope this trend will continue to develop and that in activity affecting the safeguarding of human rights advances for the better will continue to take place—toward collaboration between states in the interests of the universal improvement of man's position and the enhancement of his legal protection.

The USSR Parliamentary Group expresses the certainty that with your energetic participation, Mr Secretary General, the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights will be a stimulating impetus to parliaments and governments of all countries to eliminate the obstacles which still exist in the implementation of human rights, and to further develop international cooperation in the humanitarian field.

Respect for others combined with an objective, self-critical view of our own society, and the shifting of emphasis to the attainment of specific results in improving people's situation, the exchange of useful experience, the search for joint solutions—that is how we see the real basis for consolidating and developing international humanitarian cooperation, the foundation of which was laid by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

[Signed] The USSR Parliamentary Group

Adamishin Speaks of UNESCO 'Renaissance'
LD0411093388 Moscow TASS in English
1948 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 3 TASS—Anatoliy Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, has described UNESCO as a "unique rostrum for starting a broad discussion on questions connected with humanitarian and intellectual cooperation." He spoke in a TASS interview which he gave on the eve of the 42nd anniversary of the formation of that organization.

UNESCO is living today through a kind of a renaissance after a long crisis, the Soviet diplomat continued. This revival of the UNESCO activities is brought about, in the first place, by the growing importance of the intellectual factor in international affairs, by the demand of the world community in the intensification of humanitarian cooperation. In the present-day conditions the goals for the sake of which UNESCO was created are acquiring new strength and significance. These are: to promote intellectual and moral solidarity of humanity, to eradicate suspicion and mistrust among nations, to consolidate peace and security through the expansion of cooperation of nations in the sphere of education, science and culture.

The fact that the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze visited the UNESCO headquarters for the first time ever is evidence of the significance attached by the Soviet Union to that organization. Speaking from the rostrum of UNESCO, he pointed out that the Soviet Union regarded it as a "Unique generator of new creative approaches to the problems of humanitarian and intellectual cooperation in the interests of peace and security."

It is believed in the Soviet diplomatic circles that under the impact of overall favourable changes in world affairs UNESCO is becoming more receptive to the objectives connected with the firm establishment of new thinking in the world, the growth of trust, democratization and humanization of international relations. UNESCO became the first international organization to respond by practical steps to the appeal of the Soviet Union on the creation of an international centre of the intellectual elite. The UNESCO director general started the formation of a special body, the council of the men of wisdom.

It is planned to include in it, along with the most prominent workers in science and culture of the world, the famous Soviet writer Chingiz Aitmatov and Academician Roald Sagdeev.

UNESCO Accomplishments Noted on Anniversary
LD0411093088 Moscow TASS in English 1640 GMT
3 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 3 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yevgeniy Babenko: Mankind marks the day of the founding of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [as received] (UNESCO - 1946). This is a good pretext to speak about what has been done by this international organisation over the last years, give thought over its prospects, and name what continues to stand in the way of raising the efficiency of the UNESCO work at the present stage.

The past years have been difficult, including for UNESCO. DECADES OF THE "cold war" and "iron curtain", the division of the world into blocs and alliances, periods of sharp confrontation. There was a point when UNESCO appeared to be set apart, was subject to the baneful impact of plentiful bloc, group, and individual interests. But, happily, this page was turned.

Advocating a direct involvement of the vivid energy of the cultural and intellectual forces of the world into the orbit of international politics, the Soviet Union and its allies see in UNESCO a unique generator that produces new creative approaches to problems of humanitarian and intellectual cooperation in the interests of peace and security. It seems that an important role in creating a scientifically-grounded strategy for the development of the world that undergoes renewal belongs exactly to UNESCO.

In this sense the council of the men of wisdom, which was proposed by UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor, can become not only a new institute of UNESCO but also a prototype, a model of the unification of mankind's best intellectual forces under the single flag of salvaging civilization and mankind's survival.

The Soviet Union gives all kind of assistance to UNESCO in its lofty and multifaceted activity, highly appraising this activity. Soviet foreign minister stated about this most decisively during his speech at this organisation's Paris headquarters in October. For instance, the USSR is ready to hold a representative international symposium on the theme "mankind's common heritage—to the third millennium" within the framework of the world decade of the development of culture programme.

In our vision of UNESCO's activity today and in the future the task which was formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev is moved to the foreground. It reads: "To assert in the world such a moral environment in which the

arms race, confrontation and whipping up of the war menace, the militarization of society and public conscience will undoubtedly be perceived as a challenge to the world community, to the very foundations of modern civilization, as an attempt on man's fundamental right—the right to life”.

The Soviet Union will assist UNESCO with all of its assets and the broadest involvement in the efforts to promote international cooperation in accomplishing this all-important task.

INF Inspectors on 'Positive' U.S. Attitude

PM0111145688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 43, 23 Oct 88 p 5

[Edgar Cheporov dispatch: “The Russians Have Come! To Jointly Carry Out the Provisions in the INF Treaty”]

[Text] New York—The town of Magna, Utah, has become famous since it was announced that Soviet inspectors would arrive at the local Hercules plant. Their mission will be to verify the fulfilment of the INF Treaty. American inspectors are on a similar mission at a Soviet plant in Votkinsk.

When the INF Treaty was signed in 1987 during the Washington summit, press reporters asked the people of Magna what kind of welcome they would give Soviet inspectors. Laura McDermeid said she would meet them with an open heart; Dwight McCarty remarked that Russians should not be allowed into the town at all, and that he would stage a protest. After ratification of the treaty at the Moscow summit this May, the president of the Hercules plant, Edward Sheehy, told the press that the missile manufacturers had not been consulted and that the treaty would harm business.

Following this interview, I called Edward Sheehy's office and told the person on the other end of the line that I would like to hear Sheehy's arguments in more substantial form. But I never received a call. Edward Sheehy chose to keep silent.

Now that the Treaty has come into force, 30 Soviet inspectors have joined the 4,000 Americans working at the Hercules plant.

Says Col. Yevgeniy Tereklov, the number two in the Soviet group:

“We will verify that no Pershing-2 first-stage boosters are sent out from the plant. The plant operates in two shifts, but we are going to keep watch round the clock. There are inspectors at each of the entrances and Americans will give us the details of every truck 30 minutes before it is to leave the plant's premises. If the cargo's dimensions prove to be less than those of a Pershing-2 booster, we let it go without inspection, if they are same, or bigger, we have to inspect.”

“Have there been any conflict situations?”

“Never. There's an American representative present during each inspection who participates in drawing up reports on the results of all checkups. Our hosts are businesslike and have a positive attitude towards us.”

“What about the attitude of the local people?”

“We are brought to Magna in cars specially provided by the Pentagon, from a Sale Lake City suburb. We are escorted everywhere by special officers—to the theatre, the supermarket, the swimming pool—and there is one officer for each four of us. We've met a lot of people already.”

“There's a 'Soviet Union corner' at the peace park now. We've planted trees there to commemorate our being the first to get involved, along with Americans, in nuclear disarmament.

“We feel that local people are aware they are witnessing an historic event.”

Says Lowell F. Turner, founder of the Utah Committee for American-Soviet Relations:

“The Committee was set up two years ago. We are involved in the organisation of discussions about the USSR, as well as of lectures on Soviet culture and history. The majority of the city's residents welcome the Soviet inspectors, said Americans have the chance to see that Soviets are just like any other people. They like their work and miss their families. They are friendly people.”

I wanted to add to this article a comment from Edward Sheehy. I again called the Hercules headquarters, but got no answer neither from the plant's boss nor from any of his subordinates.

East Bloc Initiatives Unanswered by NATO

PM0311153588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Nov 88 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Kharlanov dispatch “Following the Beaten Track. NATO and the Fate of Peace in Europe”]

[Text] Brussels, Nov—The population of the West German State of Hessen is very dissatisfied with the Belgians. So dissatisfied that the question of their conduct was raised at a session of the local Landtag [state parliament]. True, this does not apply to all the citizens of the Kingdom of Belgium, but only to the servicemen who make up its expeditionary corps which is stationed in the FRG. H. Reeh, Landtag deputy representing The Greens Party, stated that they behaved with “unbelievable rudeness and unheard of vandalism” during the fall maneuvers.

Hessen courts have received 888 claims for compensation for damage inflicted during the military exercises. Most of them will be met, and consequently Brussels will have to pay out considerable sums of money for ruined corn plantations, road damage caused by tanks, and collapsed bridges. In all, these exercises will cost the Belgian taxpayer the round sum of 500,000 Belgian Francs.

The exercises of the Belgian corps were part of the traditional NATO maneuvers code-named "Autumn Forge" in which more than 250,000 officers and men took part. A characteristic feature of this fall's war games was not only their large scale but also the overtly offensive nature of a number of the operations. So, in Central Europe more than 10 divisions and the same number of brigades, and NATO armies' support formations and units were put in a state of combat readiness. They comprised 2,500 tanks and were moved simultaneously into areas bordering on the GDR and Czechoslovakia. It is obvious that such a tank armada is by no means brought forward urgently into the vicinity of foreign borders to rehearse purely defensive operations.

In short, during this fall the NATO generals were holding their exercises just like they did a year ago, or even 5 years ago, that is to say, following the well-worn track. In this way they demonstrated, as it were, their unwillingness to notice that the situation in the world is changing, that positive changes are gathering momentum in East-West relations. And it happened in circumstances where the Soviet Union and its allies were displaying utmost restraint in holding their maneuvers. The latter were kept on a small scale and were devoted exclusively to the rehearsal of the Warsaw Pact's defensive doctrine.

The NATO military could not fail to notice this, of course, if only for the reason that their representatives were present at a number of the exercises held by the Warsaw Pact armies. However, they did not want to act in a like manner. Just as they did not deign to even notice that a whole series of proposals aimed at lowering the military confrontation of the two alliances, which have been put forward of late by the Warsaw Pact, directly concern central NATO institutions. And they are in no hurry to respond to our initiatives.

This applies, for instance, to the questions of the comparison of NATO and Warsaw Pact military doctrines and the establishment of direct contacts between the leadership of the two alliances including at military level. NATO has so far made no move here.

Why?—I asked M. Woerner, the new NATO secretary general, during the reception devoted to his inauguration in this post. M. Woerner replied that so far there is no provision for such contacts, allegedly because the "lack of uniformity in the two organizations' structure" makes this difficult. This explanation, it must be noted, is not very convincing.

What is preventing the implementation of the idea, put forward by the Warsaw Pact, to set up an all-European center to curb the danger of war? Or to establish a "hotline" not just between individual countries but also between the leadership of the Warsaw Pact and NATO? No intelligible answer to these questions has so far been received from the Atlantic side. The NATO headquarters—both military and political—are stubbornly pretending that the Soviet proposal whereby the USSR will withdraw similar Soviet air facilities [aviasredstva] from forward-based positions in Eastern Europe, if NATO agrees not to deploy in Italy the 72 U.S. F-16 aircraft that are being withdrawn from Spain, does not concern them.

In the first half of October W. Taft, U.S. deputy secretary of defense, visited the capitals of 6 West European member countries of the bloc. Speaking at a press conference at the NATO headquarters in Brussels, he again called on the U.S. allies to increase their military expenditure above all for the acquisition of the latest types of conventional arms. He said that despite the changes which are taking place in the USSR "the danger from the East persists," and consequently it is necessary to increase defense expenditure.

It is not just a question of conventional arms. Pressure continues to be applied to West European countries with a view to making them agree to a modernization of NATO's tactical nuclear means deployed in Europe. NATO experts prepared a report for the session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group which was held at Scheveningen, a suburb of The Hague, at the end of October in which specific projects to this effect were mentioned.

So these are the plans with which the NATO top brass have come to the sessions in Scheveningen. What was the attitude to these plans of the defense ministers of the nuclear planning group member countries? So far one thing is clear: The United States and Britain support the idea of the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons. In other countries, such as the FRG, for instance, where these weapons are sited in the main, there is broad public opposition to these kinds of plans. The question is even being raised there of a "third zero"—the total elimination of tactical nuclear means on both sides.

So how did the nuclear planning group session end? Having examined the expert report on the modernization of NATO's nuclear means, mainly short-range means, after the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the meeting participants failed to adopt a concrete decision on this question. However, the question remains on the agenda. According to the alliance's official spokesmen a definitive answer cannot be expected before the new year.

The Belgian Government, which comprises Socialists who are opposed to an expansion of NATO's nuclear arsenals, has adopted an extremely cautious position in

the face of NATO and U.S. pressure. After his talks with W. Taft, G. Coeme, the Belgian defense minister, stated that he does not consider Belgium's contribution to NATO's military expenditure insufficient, especially in view of the fact that it maintains the expeditionary corps in the FRG. As for tactical nuclear weapons, according to Prime Minister W. Martens of Belgium, a decision on this subject can hardly be adopted before NATO has worked out a common political concept on disarmament questions. This was the viewpoint expounded by G. Coeme during the nuclear planning group session and he asked that Belgium's stance be recorded in the official protocol.

However, where is this concept? And who is elaborating it? So far there is only a statement by G. Bush, U.S. Republican Party presidential candidate, to the effect that if he is elected, he will propose to NATO country governments the convening of a special conference to clarify the bloc's strategy in present conditions, which would include examining the problem of the reduction of conventional arms in Europe. So what are the West European members of the bloc to do? Wait for the outcome of the U.S. elections?

It cannot be denied that a great deal has been achieved in the world in recent years, especially after such a breakthrough toward lowering the war danger as was the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Talks are under way between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, both on a bilateral and a multilateral basis, on further steps toward arms reduction. The alliances as a whole could also contribute their bit to lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe, as the Warsaw Pact Organization has proposed. However, the NATO apparatus is so far obviously either not ready or unwilling to join in this process.

Intersputnik Session Ends; New Head Named
LD3010094188 Moscow TASS in English
0705 GMT 30 Oct 88

[Text] Havana October 30 TASS—The 17th annual session of the Council of Intersputnik, an international space communication organisation, drew to an end in the Cuban province of Sancti Spiritus. Attending the session were representatives of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), several Middle Eastern and South East Asian states, and also Japan, France and international communication organisations.

The international space communication organisation is of an open nature, any countries irrespective of their socio-economic system, political orientation and geographical position can take part in its work. Intersputnik provides communication services to the organisation members and all countries willing to utilize the opportunities offered by the system which covers virtually all continents of the world. The member countries of the organisation are engaged in the development and operation of telecommunication systems using Soviet Gori-zont artificial satellites. Their activity aims at developing telephone, television and radio communication, at extending applied research in this sphere.

Speakers at the session of the Intersputnik council noted that the activity of the international space communication organisation helped expedite progress in science and technology and establish closer links among nations. The session discussed and adopted a programme of action for 1989 and elected Boris Chirkov, a representative of the USSR Communications Ministry, the organisation's new general director.

United States & Canada

Journal Publishes Article by President Reagan
LD0411052388 Moscow TASS in English 1235 GMT
3 Nov 88

[quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow November 3 TASS—The November issue of the "MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN" (International Affairs) journal carries an article by Ronald Reagan of the United States. The article is headlined "Freedom, Progress and Peace".

Having thanked the editors of the journal for the given opportunity to address its readers in the Soviet Union the U.S. President writes that this invitation by the journal "truly reflects a new spirit that encourages a freer exchange of opinions in the Soviet Union, a development which all Americans welcome.

Describing the contents of the article, the U.S. President recalls that "on my visit to Moscow in May-June, 1988, particularly in my address to the students and faculty of Moscow State University, I had the chance to say something of my political philosophy". This is what I would like to elaborate upon here".

"When I spoke at Moscow State University, I began describing not the past, but the future. I spoke of the miracles of today's technology that promise a new technological revolution during our lifetime. This new revolution is a peaceful one, but its effects will fundamentally alter our world, shatter old assumptions, and reshape our lives. It is easy to underestimate because it is not accompanied by banners or fanfare. It has been called the information revolution, and as its emblem one might take the tiny silicon chip—no bigger than a fingerprint."

"Think of that little computer chip. Its value is not in the sand from which it is made, but in microscopic architecture designed into it by ingenious human minds", the President points out.

"But progress is not for ordained. The key is freedom—freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication. The renowned scientist, scholar and founding father of Moscow State University, Mikhail Lomonosov, knew that. "It is common knowledge", he said, 'that the achievements of science are considerable and rapid, particular once a yoke of slavery cast off and replaced by the freedom of philosophy'".

"There is another truth to be learned from recent experience—another ancient truth being rediscovered for its contemporary relevance. That is the interconnection between economic progress, freedom and world peace".

"Solemn international agreements, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act reflect that these issues of freedom and democracy are

important issues of international concern. Naturally. They have also been prominent on the agenda of Soviet-American relations. This dimension of reform in your country—which you call glasnost or democratisation—will therefore have its inescapable positive effect on the Soviet Union's relations with the United States and with many other nations".

U.S. 'Double Standards' in Afghanistan Condemned
LD0311174988 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT
3 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 3 TASS—TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

Charles Redman, spokesman for the U.S. Department of State, expressed 'serious concern' over the situation in Afghanistan.

Indeed, the situation in that country is complex and explosive, and events there can have unpredictable consequences. The armed opposition backed and even instigated by Islamabad and Washington, refuses to heed the voice of reason, rejects any proposals by Kabul to stop the fratricidal war, embark on negotiations, enter a new coalition government on a broad basis to lead the country to peace and tranquillity. Receiving weapons from the USA and other Western countries, training commandos on the Pakistani territory in defiance of the Geneva accords, the "Peshawar Seven" stepped up its actions against the Kabul regime. The most barbarous methods of warfare are used. The capital, cities and villages are daily rained with rockets and shells. Civilian population, including women and children, are killed. Houses, schools and mosques are destroyed. In October alone, Kabul was shelled with missiles 23 times. There was heavy shelling of Jalalabad, Qandahar and other cities.

These provocative actions of the opposition, Washington's and Islamabad's brazen interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, gross violations of the Geneva accords jeopardised Afghanistan's territorial integrity, its national sovereignty. Plans for the revision of state borders are openly discussed in Islamabad. Dreams are cherished for splitting united Afghanistan into several tribal formations. These circles actually encroach on the very existence of an independent sovereign state.

But it is not over this that Washington is "seriously concerned." The spokesman for the U.S. Department of State said he is concerned over the recent actions of Russians in Afghanistan. He means the supply of new Soviet combat equipment to Afghan Armed Forces. The Soviet Union, naturally, supplied Kabul with powerful missile weapons for a retaliatory strike at units of the opposition in order to cut short their criminal activity and warn them against continued shelling of cities and pointless killing of civilians. These Soviet missiles have already dealt a first powerful strike at a large transshipment base of commandos in the area of Marulgad,

and there is no doubt that as strong blows will be dealt at other areas of the concentration of units of commandos, unless the "Peshawar Seven" comes to its senses and stops pointless fratricide.

As to Washington's "concern," it should first of all ponder on its own unsavoury stand and end the supplies of ever more consignments of most up-to-date armaments to opposition groups, that is, it should not apply double standards. Then, with strict observance of the Geneva accords by all the parties, there would be no need to be "concerned." The Afghan people would be able to achieve national reconciliation without outside interference. The accumulation of U.S. weapons by the armed opposition does nothing to promote the establishment of peace on Afghan soil.

State Department's Solomon Holds Talks in Moscow
*LD0311132688 Moscow TASS in English 1304 GMT
3 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 3 TASS—Soviet-American consultations on questions of foreign policy planning were held at the USSR Foreign Ministry on October 31-November 3. A group of representatives of the USSR's Foreign Ministry was led by member of the Collegium, chief of the Assessment and Planning Department Lev Mendelevich, a group of representatives of the U.S. Department of State—Director of the Policy Planning Staff Richard Solomon.

The two sides had a useful exchange of opinions on a broad range of questions linked with tendencies of the world development, and also Soviet-American relations.

Richard Solomon was received for a talk by First Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, and had a meeting with Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR Colonel-General Makhmut Gareyev.

The American representatives also had meetings and conversations at scientific research institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR with scientists dealing with key international problems of the present.

They had a talk with Director of the Military History Institute of the Defence Ministry of the USSR Colonel-General Dmitriy Volkogonov.

'Expert' on Cuban Missile Crisis Lessons
*LD2110202088 Moscow TASS in English 1936 GMT
21 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—Expert of the USSR Foreign Ministry Igor Koroteyev writes:

Western political scientists hold that the Caribbean crisis which broke out 26 years ago was caused by the Soviet Union that deployed nuclear missiles in Cuba. They assert that that prompted reply actions of Washington.

But they lose sight of the fact that the Cuban Government asked the Soviet Union to do so in order to repulse a threat of the U.S. attack on the freedom island. Those missiles were small in number, clearly incomparable with the nuclear might of the United States, so they could serve only as a deterrent, not as a means of aggression.

As to the concerns of the Cubans they were quite justifiable. Brother of the president, Robert Kennedy, admitted later in his book "Thirteen Days", that it is precisely at the time that the closest associates of the president, who were in the composition of the special "ex comm"—the executive committee of the National Security Council, were working out in secret various versions of Cuba's invasion by U.S. troops.

The decisions of President J.F. Kennedy to impose a sea blockade on Cuba was a premeditated action and was viewed by the U.S. Administration as an initial stage of the U.S. intervention against Cuba.

In this tense situation in the USSR and the United States managed to control emotions by reason. Ways out of a crisis situation were found as a result of the exchange of messages by the leaders of the USSR and the United States in October-November 1962 and as a result of diplomatic contacts, also in the United Nations framework. The Soviet-American arrangement on Cuba was reached.

The United States lifted the sea blockade from Cuba and assumed the pledge that Cuba will not be attacked by the United States or by other countries of the hemisphere. In reply to this the Soviet Union removed its missiles from the Cuban territory.

The Caribbean crisis was thus resolved. The Soviet-U.S. arrangement was essentially a compromise as a result of which commonsense and the awareness of the responsibility for the menace of thermo-nuclear was prevailed.

The lessons of the Caribbean crisis are of intransient importance. They show that the way out of such situations in the nuclear age can be found only on a basis of mutually acceptable compromises and active implementation of principles aimed at achieving peace through talks, not from the positions of strength.

The lessons of the Caribbean crisis also confirm the importance of observing one of the key principles of new political thinking: the right of every people to choose its own road of development without outside interference.

Northeast Asia & Pacific

Commentary Condemns U.S.-Tokyo Military Exercise
*OW0211042888 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT
25 Oct 88*

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Not long ago, Japan's SANKEI SHIMBUN carried a report which local observers called news tidbits. The report said: After a solid year, the U.S. Forces and

the forces of its allies, including Japan, will hold in the Pacific region a joint military exercise on the largest scale ever in that region. According to the report, the U.S. military command plans to hold the exercise in the entire Pacific, including the South China Sea, and will obviously attempt to confront the Soviet Union in the Pacific Ocean as a whole.

It should be admitted that there is not much difference between the information concerning the U.S. military command's strategic plan disclosed by SANKEI SHIMBUN and the actual picture. As we all know, the Japanese and the U.S. navies held a joint exercise in the Pacific region not long ago. Experts estimated that it was the largest-ever exercise participated in by the Japanese Navy. In the Far East region, the scale of multinational trans-Pacific military exercises is enlarging year after year. In addition to the United States and Japan, Australia, Britain, and Canada will also join the exercise. These provocative maritime exercises are not only dangerous in terms of scale, but are also pushing the world to the brink of military conflicts as the United States and its allies launch provocative activities. There are many examples.

Pentagon officials allege that the U.S. Navy's task is not defense but offense. A brief analysis of the U.S. Navy's components and the nature of their activities will suffice. The U.S. Navy has 15 aircraft carriers capable of carrying out shock tasks, 5 of which carry 90 planes and 100 nuclear bombs. It also includes missile-carrying nuclear submarines and Tomahawk cruise missile-carrying warplanes. All Tomahawk cruise missiles carry nuclear warheads. Look at the various U.S. warships, their activities and sea routes in the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, and the scope of their activities regarding the means of delivery of nuclear weapons, and you will find that the territories of all Asian and Pacific countries are actually in the shadow of their menace.

Since the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty became effective, the United States and its allies have not only failed to adopt the policy of continuing to reduce nuclear and other weapons, but also have taken various so-called compensatory measures. These measures, first of all, involve the U.S. Navy. By mid-1990, the Pentagon will increase the number of sea-based missiles to 4,000, of which 750 will carry nuclear warheads. According to the Institute on the Research of Peace and Security Issues in Tokyo, 3,000 sea-based and air-based cruise missiles will be deployed in the Far East region.

As for Japan, it is speeding up building the latest missile-carrying warships and submarines, strengthening its maritime Air Force, and holding unilateral and joint military exercises, so as to lay the foundation for the fulfillment of the strategic task of defending Japan's 800-nautical-mile waters, and to share with the United States the responsibility of safeguarding the Asia and Pacific region's security.

Not long ago THE WASHINGTON POST had to admit that people in Washington and abroad all think that the U.S. Navy's current activities and its strategy are a threat to world peace. As for the Soviet Union, it has not only failed to expand its armed forces in the Far East region, but has also greatly cut down the activities of its Pacific Fleet during this period. In his speech made in Krasnoyarsk, Soviet leader Gorbachev said: If the United States demolishes its military bases in the Philippines, the Soviet Union will give up the Soviet Naval Equipment and Materials Supply Station in Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay. The Soviet Union also guarantees it will not increase any nuclear weapons in the Asian and Pacific region, and calls on the United States and other nuclear powers not to replenish or deploy nuclear weapons in this region. In Krasnoyarsk, Gorbachev also made new specific proposals to de-escalate military confrontation in the Asian and Pacific region, freeze and cut down naval forces, and limit naval activities. However, these proposals, like those proposals made by the Soviet Union in the past, have been rejected by the United States and its allies. Obviously, such a policy is not in keeping with the trend of the times, violates the interests of the people of all countries in the Asian and Pacific region, and runs counter to the process of easing off the tense international situation.

Katushev Receives DPRK Trade Minister
PM0311133188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] On 29 October K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, received Kim Tal-hyon, chairman of the DPRK Foreign Economic Committee and DPRK minister of foreign trade. Questions of further developing Soviet-Korean economic cooperation were discussed during the conversation.

Near East & South Asia

Bessmertnykh on Troop Pullout From Afghanistan

Suspended Due to 'Political Situation'
LD0411154488 Moscow TASS in English 1529 GMT
4 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow October [as received] 4 TASS—The withdrawal of Soviet troops was suspended because of a political situation in Afghanistan, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, told journalists at a news briefing here today. They will be pulled out of there under suitable conditions. The conditions, which the Afghan opposition is trying to impose at present, do not correspond to the task of normal withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

"The Soviet Union," he said in a statement read before, "continues to strictly fulfil all provisions of the Geneva Accords. In accordance with the agreements 50 per cent

of the Soviet troops were withdrawn over three months." At the same time, the Soviet diplomat continued, the Peshawar opposition started to build up its military activity. Simultaneously the subversive and terrorist activity was also intensified in order to destabilize the situation and to demoralize the population.

The first deputy foreign minister noted that Soviet troops suffered casualties already after a part of the Soviet troops had been withdrawn from Afghanistan. "Such a situation is unacceptable for us." The Soviet Union, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh stressed, intends to stand by its obligations under the Geneva accords if the other side does not violate them.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, who was also present at the briefing, added that a delegation of the Afghan anti-government "alliance of seven" was reported by the Pakistani press to be ready to fly to New York when the Afghan issue will be discussed at the session of the U.N. General Assembly.

He stressed in this connection that the claims of the Afghan armed opposition in the person of the "seven-party alliance" for international recognition are absolutely groundless. The attempt of the "alliance" to sneak into the U.N. forum causes surprise. The "alliance" does not recognize the Geneva accords on the political settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan which were reached under the U.N. aegis. It continues to rely only on the forceful solution of the internal Afghan problems, rejects the peace proposals from the Afghan Government on dialogue with the aim of creating a widely-based coalition."

'Explanation' of Soviet Position

LD0411145388 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT
4 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh made the following statement at a briefing here today:

"Several Western statesmen and the press in a number of countries have asserted lately that the Soviet Union violates if not the letter than at least the spirit of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

It is claimed that there is a buildup of Soviet troops in that country and extra Soviet warplanes are being sent to Afghanistan.

Those who fabricate these hoaxes seem to have their own motivations for attempting to cast aspersions on Soviet policy. We do not think it is proper to consider at length these motivations, the more so that they are ignoble in character.

They all have, however, a common goal, that of diverting world public attention away from the glaring violations of the agreements by U.S.-backed Pakistan.

In this connection I would like to make the following explanation.

First. The Soviet Union has strictly observed all provisions of the Geneva agreements. In keeping with the accords, we pulled out 50 percent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan within a period of three months.

The withdrawal was carried out under the observation of a U.N. group of military representatives who pointed to the Soviet Union's strict compliance with all demands of the Geneva agreements.

Second. Immediately after the start of the Soviet troop withdrawal, the Peshawar-based leaders of Afghan opposition embarked on whipping up the situation in the country, rather than looked for ways to attain national reconciliation proposed by Kabul.

With these aims in view, they in fact abused the positive situation that emerged after the reduction of the Soviet troops and the withdrawal of some Afghan Army units from the border with Pakistan in the interests of establishing peace zones in the regions where refugees return.

Peshawar opposition has started stepping up its military activity in various regions of Afghanistan with the extensive use of missiles.

Simultaneously, it expanded sabotage and terrorist activity designed to demoralize the population and destabilize the situation.

All this activity was ensured through the continued flow of arms, manufactured in the United States and other countries, which are supplied to bandit units via the Pakistani-Afghan border in violation of the Geneva agreements.

Third. It is primarily the civilian population that is affected by the actions of opposition bandit units. In one month, October this year, alone, 230 civilians, including women and children, died in rocket fire at Afghan towns and villages and in various acts of sabotage. 580 people sustained grave injuries.

In the Afghan capital and Kabul Province alone, 750 Afghan civilians fell victim to terror following May 15. More than 550 houses and about 50 administration buildings were destroyed.

Citizens of other countries, too, become victims of the bombardment of Kabul which is directed, by the way, not at military facilities, but at 'squares.' Nationals of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and other countries were wounded.

Two Soviet women and a child of one of them died as a missile exploded near the airport building. Damage was caused to buildings and compounds of several diplomatic missions.

Fourth. Opposition bandit units have been concentrating their attacks lately on Soviet troops. After the entry into force of the Geneva agreements, there occurred 555 incidents involving bombardment and attacks on Soviet military units, including 88 rocket and mortar bombardments.

Airfields with Soviet military hardware were subjected to fire on 26 occasions, Soviet-owned planes and helicopters were damaged. 400 attacks were carried out on sentry-posts. There are casualties among the Soviet military personnel.

Fifth. In order to prevent the further mounting of terror and in view of the warnings made to the bandit units and their Peshawar leaders, the Soviet Union has undertaken a number of counter-measures as a matter of protection and legitimate self-defence.

The Soviet Union is now supplying the Afghan Armed Forces with extra consignments of more powerful weapons.

The Soviet units that have completed their fixed tour of service in Afghanistan are being partially replaced. Some of the arriving units are armed with more advanced weaponry. I want to emphasise at this point that the amount of hardware and personnel is not increased.

In connection with various false rumours concerning the Soviet missiles in Afghanistan which, as some claim, are intended for strikes at Pakistan, I want to emphasise that this task has not been advanced.

They are employed only against the concentrations of hardware and arms used against Soviet military units and towns in Afghanistan. The range of the Soviet missiles is less than 300 kilometres. Correspondingly, the deliveries have no relation whatsoever to the agreements and accords already concluded. They are not related, in particular, to the Soviet-American treaty on the intermediate- and shorter- range missiles.

Soviet bombers launch bomb attacks against arms depots and hardware concentrations. Townships, villages and other populated localities are not among the targets of bomb and rocket strikes.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that Afghan problems can be resolved precisely by peaceful and only peaceful means. The United States and Pakistan should use their influence on the bandit units in order to end bloodshed in that much-suffering country.

Afghanistan needs a constructive peace dialogue with a view to achieving a political solution to internal Afghan problems. A cease-fire and the start of talks on establishing a coalition government on a broad basis with the participation of all forces opposed to one another today would be an important practical step in that direction.

Afghan President Najibullah has long since offered a cease-fire. More over, Kabul unilaterally proclaimed a cease-fire.

The realities in Afghanistan today are such that there is no alternative to national reconciliation, and the attempts to ignore the true alignment of political forces will only result in a drawn-out war.

Pakistan's Downing of Afghan Aircraft Noted
LD0311194388 Moscow TASS in English 1907 GMT
3 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 3 TASS—A plane of the Afghan Air Force was shot down at 9:30 local time today when it patrolled an area 20 kilometres south of Khowst District. The air-to-air missiles were fired by two Pakistani planes, which violated Afghan air space in the area of Khowst. Another plane of the Afghan Air Force was attacked and shot down at 14:57 by a Pakistani Air Force plane, which violated air space.

In connection with this incident, BAKHTAR news agency reports, the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan sent a note to the U.N. mission in Kabul, resolutely protesting against the provocative actions of the Islamabad administration and demanding an inquiry by the U.N. observers into this incident.

The note mentions one more fact of violation by Pakistan of the Geneva accords: The attack on November 2-3 by Pakistani tribal armed groups and regular troops on the border security posts and customs at Towr Kham. As a result of the fire, serious material damage was inflicted on the customs building.

Pakistan's charge d'affaires ad interim in Afghanistan was summoned to the Afghan Foreign Ministry today where a protest was made over repeated provocative actions by the Pakistani Armed Forces which manifested themselves in direct support to the armed Afghan opposition and repeated violations of the Afghan state border.

Further on Afghan Army Use of Long-Range Weapons
LD0211135188 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 1 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent M. Leshchinskiy, identified by screen caption]

[Text] Extremist formations have again subjected the Afghan capital to missile bombardment. Today and yesterday 12 surface-to-surface missiles fell on residential districts of the city. As a result of the barbaric action, 1 person was killed and 17 were injured. All of the victims were women and children.

[Leshchinskiy] This was neither a parade nor some specially planned action. It was simply that, in accordance with a decision by the Afghan military leadership, the launchers of new long-range weapons handed over to the Afghan Armed Forces by the Soviet Union were moved into position. Of course, none of the townspeople know the technical and operational characteristics of these powerful weapons, but their formidable appearance alone says much. No one, incidentally, made their delivery a secret. It was announced at a session of the National Council by President Najibullah, who noted that the step was being taken in connection with Pakistan's violations of the Geneva accords. What these [violations] lead to, Afghans experience firsthand every day. Already this morning, several hours before the column entered Kabul, the city was subjected to a rocket missile bombardment. Six women and nine children were injured in their homes. One boy was killed on the spot. [video shows a Scud-B missile on its transporter-erector-launcher (TEL) vehicle; street scene; a convoy, led by a police car, comprising jeeps, armored personnel carriers, trucks with soldiers and Scud-B TEL's; damaged building; people clearing debris; other shots of the missile column passing various locations]

That's how November began, while in October the capital was shelled on 23 occasions. Especially barbaric were the attacks against Kabul International Airport. The shells exploded on the runways, by the hangars, and the aircraft tarmac areas, in the vicinity of the terminal building. At that time just one shell killed two families—the fathers, mothers, and two little children. Throughout the country in October 230 people died at the hands of the extremists; 574 were injured. There had been no such tragic statistics this year until then. And how many people remain homeless, without means of subsistence? How much new grief was seen by this poor land? [video shows airfield with parked AN-24 or 26 aircraft in Ariana livery with smoke rising in the background; wrecked building; abandoned luggage; mauled bodies of a woman and a child; fire engine with a group of at least four Antonov transport planes in Afghan Air Force colors in the background; people with shovels, children outside tent]

Such actions of course could not remain unanswered. The Afghan Army's employment of the new long-range weapons was a forced step. Its only purpose is to protect the Afghan people from the terror of the extremists, who are going too far, and the gangs of irreconcilable opposition which rejects all proposals by the Government of Afghanistan for peaceful ways of settling the situation in the country. It wouldn't be amiss to recall that in the second half of October alone President Najibullah has three times presented such new initiatives.

The new long-range weapons are moving into position. They are ready to act to protect Afghanistan's towns, villages, and fields from strikes by those who do not want to sit at the table in the interest of the Afghan people. [video shows other shots of the missile convoy]

Kornilov Applauds Provision of Missiles
LD0411054988 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1230 GMT 02 Nov 88

["Washington's Double Standard—Commentary"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow 2 Nov (TASS)—By political news analyst Yuri Korilov:

Washington officials, among them highly placed ones, have been expressing serious concern lately over Soviet actions in Afghanistan. What has happened? It appears that nervousness and worry are caused in Washington by the fact that our country supplies modern weapons to aid Afghanistan and its Armed Forces.

It is the notorious double standard again—this time even without disguise. It is common knowledge—in neither Washington nor Islamabad do they deny it—that throughout the entire period since the signing of the Geneva accords the United States and Pakistan have gone ahead with and built up weapons shipments to the armed opposition, supplying it with vast quantities of the latest types of armaments, including Stinger missiles.

The results of this course are an open secret: Bloodshed continues in the country, and the so-called irreconcilables systematically bombard Kabul and other peaceful cities with rockets. The Afghan capital came under such bombardments 23 times in October alone. The attacks killed dozens of innocent people, including women, children, and old people.

All this—the massive arming of the rebels who do not conceal their intention to grab power in the sovereign country and the surge in terrorism as sequel to this—was in some strange way regarded in Washington as something that does not contradict the objectives of settling the conflict.

However, once Afghanistan's Armed Forces had intensified their efforts to defend the country and (?repelled) the extremists, people in the self-same city of Washington began showing clear signs of discontent with developments. After reports appeared that the USSR was providing arms to the Afghan Army, the United States ceased to conceal its irritation altogether, moving as far as alleging that this aid is almost a "violation" of the Geneva accords. No, gentlemen, such a position, if one may so call it, does not fit in any way within the channel of fundamental political logic. Soviet arms aid to Afghanistan is a clear and unambiguous answer to the actions of those who, in trampling the Geneva accords, arm extremists and prod and instigate them to continue the bloodshed. Both Kabul and Moscow displayed restraint for a long time. They repeatedly called upon Islamabad and Washington to strictly discharge the obligations assumed in Geneva.

Only after it became obvious that all these appeals were being ignored were measures taken to strengthen the defensive might of the Afghan Armed Forces. How could it be otherwise? Did the extremists' patrons really hope that they could keep building up weapons shipments to the diehard opposition and prod them to step up the struggle against the popular power, and that the other side would sit idle and passively observe what was happening?

A statement by the Afghan Army General Staff which has just been released by the BAKHTAR news agency says that the extremists were warned on more than one occasion about the need to halt the use of heavy arms, including the rocket bombardment of settlements and demilitarized areas. However, being instigated by their Pakistani hosts, they ignored these warnings and continued to kill civilians. It is for this reason that missiles of a great destructive force, designed to stop the criminal activity of the extremist groups, were placed in service with the Afghan Army to defend the territorial integrity and national sovereignty, and repulse foreign aggression.

I repeat: The supply of modern weapons to aid Afghanistan is a response to the illegal actions of Pakistan and the United States. If there is no cause generating the need for such aid, there will be no effect. No double standard is acceptable here.

No one should doubt that as long as an interventionist threat from outside hangs over sovereign Afghanistan, the Afghan Government and its Armed Forces will have everything necessary to give a fitting rebuff to the sorties of the extremists.

As for the Geneva accords, about the fulfilment of which certain circles in the United States are now supposedly so concerned, [passage indistinct].

Public Committee Chairman on Afghan POW's
*LD1910171888 Moscow TASS in English 1559 GMT
19 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—"The coordinating committee of the Soviet public for the release of Soviet prisoners of war has voiced on more than one occasion its readiness to meet anywhere and at any time with representatives of the forces that hold prisoner the Soviet servicemen captured in Afghanistan, and to discuss possible ways of their release", Vladimir Lomonosov, chairman of the committee, has told TASS. "However, we have received no answer so far. It is the leaders of the irreconcilable Afghan armed opposition and the Pakistani side who are directly responsible for that".

The tragic fate of some 300 Soviet citizens taken prisoner in Afghanistan is a source of concern both of the Soviet and world public. A news conference of the independent organization "Committee for the Salvation of Soviet Prisoners of War in Afghanistan" was held in New York last Monday [31 October]. It was stated at the

news conference that the efforts exerted by the committee had not brought any results for far, primarily because of the stubborn unwillingness of the Pakistani authorities to promote in any way the solution of the problem of prisoners of war.

Participants in the news conference mentioned slanderous inventions of the reactionary press to the effect that if Soviet prisoners of war were released they would be forcibly deported to the Soviet Union and brought to trial.

In this connection Vladimir Lomonosov, chairman of the Soviet committee, recalled the statement of Alexandr Sukharev, prosecutor general of the USSR, made on July 4, this year: "On behalf of the Soviet state I declare that servicemen who were in Afghanistan together with the limited contingent of Soviet troops and who return home from captivity or from foreign countries will enjoy in full volume all the political, social and other rights of Soviet citizens provided by the Constitution of the USSR. As for those who could not resist hostile propaganda, the torment and privations of captivity and committed illegal actions detrimental to our state, amnesty will be granted to all of them, proceeding from supreme considerations of socialist humanism".

Afghan Council Supports Mecca Peace Talks Plan
*LD0311195088 Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT
3 Nov 88*

[Text] Kabul November 3 TASS—The Islamic Consultative Council supported the proposal by Afghan President Najibullah to hold talks with the representatives of opposition in Mecca. It released a statement here which calls for Afghans outside and inside the country to exert every effort to put an end to the fratricidal war in Afghanistan, to exert pressure on opposition so that its representatives sit down at the negotiating table. The document notes that peaceful dialogue will facilitate the solution of the Afghan problem.

Further Reportage on Coup Attempt in Maldives

India Considering Military Aid
*LD0311142788 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT
3 Nov 88*

[Text] New Delhi November 3 TASS—A representative of the Ministry for External Affairs of India said today that the Indian Government was considering the request of the Government of the Republic of Maldives to render it military aid to beat off the armed attack of mercenaries, trying to seize power in the country.

The exchange of fire in Male, the capital of Maldives, is continuing. The president of the Republic and the foreign minister are safe.

Mercenaries Flee Failed Coup

LD0411070988 Moscow TASS in English 0703 GMT
4 Nov 88

[Text] Colombo November 4 TASS—The bulk of the foreign mercenaries, who captured Male, the capital of the Republic of Maldives, last Thursday [3 November], fled from the country today in the boats captured. They did so when a contingent of Indian troops landed in Maldives at the request of the government of that tiny insular state.

According to witnesses, the coup attempt involved up to 400 mercenaries. On Thursday they attacked the Presidential Palace and other state institutions in Male.

Indian External Affairs Minister Arrives 4 Nov

LD0411093988 Moscow TASS in English 0933 GMT
4 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—It is reported today that Minister of State for External Affairs of India K. Natwar Singh arrived in Moscow for a working visit on Thursday [4 November] at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

At the airport he was met by Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Vladimir Petrovskiy, other officials.

East Europe

Further Reportage on Visit of CSSR Premier

Daily Profiles Adamec

PM0211164988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed biographical sketch: "On the Visit to the Soviet Union by Ladislav Adamec, Member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR Premier"]

[Text] Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier, arrives in Moscow today on a brief working visit.

L. Adamec was born 10 September 1926 in Frenstat pod Radhostem, Novy Jicin District, the son of a miner. He has been a member of the CPCZ since 1946.

He graduated from business school. Following Czechoslovakia's liberation he occupied various economic posts, including director of the "MEZ [Moravian-Silesian electrical engineering plant national enterprise]-Frenstat" national enterprise. He was chairman of the district national committee in Frenstat, deputy chairman of the North Moravian Kraj [district] national committee, and chairman of the kraj planning commission. In 1963 he became chief of the CPCZ Central Committee Machine Building, Metallurgy, and Chemical Industry Department, and subsequently he was chief of the Economic

Department. He graduated from the CPCZ Central Committee Higher Political School and completed a research internship at the Higher Economic School in Prague. In 1969 he was appointed deputy premier and, in 1986, first deputy premier of the Czech Socialist Republic Government. In 1987 he became CSSR deputy premier and Czech Socialist Republic premier.

L. Adamec has been a member of the CPCZ Central Committee since 1986 and a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium since 1987. He has been a member of the National Economy Commission of the CPCZ Central Committee since 1971.

He was elected district national committee and kraj national committee deputy. In 1969 he became a Czech National Council deputy.

L. Adamec has been awarded the Order of the Republic, the Order of Victorious February, and the Order of Labor for services to the party and socialist society.

On 12 October 1988 the CSSR president appointed Ladislav Adamec CSSR premier.

The Soviet people cordially greet the arrival in our country of L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier, and express confidence that his visit will contribute to the further development and strengthening of friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the USSR and the CSSR and between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples.

Adamec Interviewed on Restructuring

LD0311140288 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1545 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Interview with CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec by Valeriy Korzin, from "The World Today" program, presented by Aleksandr Zholkver; date not given—recorded; Adamec speaks in Czech or Slovak, fading into superimposed Russian translation; video shows Adamec and Korzin seated in studio]

[Text] [Zholkver] Hello, comrades. I will start our program with an interview which my colleague Valeriy Korzin had with Ladislav Adamec, head of the Czechoslovak Government and who was in Moscow on a working visit.

[Begin recording] [Korzin] Comrade Adamec, you recently became head of a new government. I would like to ask you what goals you have and what tasks you are going to accomplish in your capacity as head of government.

[Adamec] The main tasks facing our country were clearly defined at the 17th Communist Party Congress. The government is expected to ensure that they are accomplished. Over 2 years have passed since our party congress, and, naturally, certain changes have taken place which have introduced amendments of their own. The

situation in some areas of the national economy is satisfactory, whereas in other areas the situation is complex. We come under a lot of criticism, for example, because there is a shortage of a whole number of goods on the domestic market, and people voice justified complaints. The market must be more abundant.

There is legitimate criticism of shortcomings in the health service, mainly the stocks of medicines and their supply to the population. People complain that the transport they use does not work the way they want it to. The entire sector of public services has been sharply criticized and seriously monitored. It seems that the government should devote itself to nothing but conceptual issues but, naturally, it cannot disregard urgent issues either. Therefore, we must now focus our attention on the problems which come under severe criticism and which worry our citizens. I hope that in the near future we will be able to successfully solve the problems that have accumulated and get down to sorting out global problems in earnest.

[Korzin] And the economic restructuring and reform which you have been introducing, how are they developing in your country?

[Adamec] I have asked Comrade Ryzhkov to brief me on restructuring in the USSR. In your country this process has been under way for nearly 4 years. We are only starting to introduce restructuring in our country. I think that there are common aspects relevant to every country, regardless of individual countries' specific features and their peoples' way of thinking. We in Czechoslovakia have started restructuring central governing organs. We have merged certain ministries and simplified their work, and this resulted in the release of about 30 percent of officials from the apparatus.

As of 1 July of this year about 500 enterprises were transferred to self-administration and self-financing status; and as of 1 January 1989 we plan to transfer the remaining ones. From the start of next year all sections of agriculture will also be transferred to the new economic system. Naturally, we must devote a lot of care to restructuring, and it needs constant support. First of all, you have to monitor the results continuously and sum up what has been done while not neglecting the problems which arise in the way of restructuring. You know, it is like bringing up a child: In the beginning he requires more attention. A child needs maternal care until he can stand up and develop strength and confidence, which come with time. Only then, when he grows up, will he not need this help.

I will be frank and will tell you straight: Not everybody in our country supports restructuring. Many people are happy with the current situation and administration by command methods. They are happy with it because, even when they work in a slipshod manner, outrageously badly, or do not work at all, they still receive their salaries. Certain individuals may think that restructuring

can be implemented with a wave of a magic wand or that it will bring them higher profits without particular effort on their part. There is a third category of people, who are the most honest, in my view. They realize the complexity of the situation, and we must first lean precisely on them and help them in every possible way.

[Korzin] A lot of what you have said is similar to our problems. In this respect, I would like to ask you how you view the prospects for Soviet-Czechoslovak relations?

[Adamec] There is long-standing political and economic cooperation between the CSSR and the USSR. Without close cooperation with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia cannot exist and would never have been able to attain good results in its development. It is natural that many joint measures have been worked out but sometimes the so-called bureaucratic system has had a negative effect on their speedy fulfillment and implementation. CEMA has existed for many years. In my view, competent people have been working in this organization, but, unfortunately, the results of its activity are bad and unsatisfactory. This fact impels us to sort out where the barriers are and what hampers our cooperation, why its progress has been so slow. Together with Comrade Ryzhkov, we discussed this issue and came to the common conclusion that we would prefer cooperative [koo-peratsionnyy] relations in the sphere of financial autonomy. The most favorable conditions for further progress in our cooperation will be with economically independent enterprises, where the plan is being fulfilled in a concrete manner and material values are being created. Maybe experience in cooperation with some Western countries will be necessary.

All the same, they are more flexible than those of us in the socialist camp. I think that entrepreneurial activity means high flexibility and highly qualified personnel. We must return to these issues because they require additional elaboration. As for the spheres of interests and political views, it seems we have full mutual understanding and unity there, and there is no need to amend anything there. We only have to fulfill mutual agreements and accords and strive to ensure that things develop successfully in the future.

[Korzin] Thank you. [end recording]

Speaks at Kremlin Luncheon
PM0311110188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report on speech by L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier, at a 1 November luncheon at the Kremlin under the general heading: "In the Interest of Peace and Socialism"]

[Text] We have come to Moscow on a short friendly working visit. This is my first trip abroad in my new post. I am pleased to be able to share my plans with you, my very close allies and comrades.

I am grateful for the invitation to visit your country, which has always been close to us owing to the long-standing traditions of friendship and cooperation, the people's heroism in peacetime and wartime, and the pioneering feats of many generations of revolutionaries. Moscow is near and dear to us today also owing to its revolutionary boldness in making principled assessments of the past and in creating socialism's new image and its desire to make as great a contribution as possible to the historic cause of restructuring the world in the name of human civilization's progress. In implementing the new thinking you are acting both in our name and in our interests. This is borne out by your sincere readiness to openly share all joys and concerns with us and to help us with advice and action.

The profound restructuring of all social life is taking place in both our countries. In many ways this imparts to our cooperation a new nature, broader scope, and deeper meaning. Both you and we are giving serious thought to the new substance and significance of socialist values, striving to remove barriers from the path of social development, and jointly seeking ways to a more democratic, economically efficient, socially more just, and more cultivated and humane society. In the interests of increasing socialism's attraction we intend to make wider use of its potential and advantages for improving the people's living conditions.

On the threshold of the nineties Czechoslovakia is faced with the need to adopt serious decisions on the further paths of its development. The extensive potential for growth has exhausted itself. Under the conditions of the present political and economic mechanism our considerable economic and human potential is not producing the proper effect. We must formulate a strategy for shaping the new structure of the production, scientific, and technical base, and increase attention to environmental conservation and questions of raising living standards. To resolve these very important tasks we will make increasingly wide and full use of the valuable ideas stemming from the Soviet Union. The great and constantly growing attention with which Czechoslovakia's working people follow life in your country confirms their broad response to the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the measures to fulfill them. We perceive the conference's inspiring ideas as a call to make our contribution to the theory and practice of restructuring, and we wish to make creative use of them under our conditions.

The new stage in socialism's development is also making greater demands on the quality of relations between our countries. The switch from the extensive to the intensive, from quantity to quality, from the number of measures to their efficiency, is coming to the fore. This is precisely why we support the decisions of the 44th CEMA session held this year and advocate the creation of the CEMA countries' single market. While looking to

the future, we proceed from today's realities. We consider it particularly important to accelerate the establishment of direct ties between our countries' enterprises.

The urgent need to resolve a number of problems and the pace and extent of the changes in the economy and in our relations dictate the need to impart a more regular nature to our meetings. Therefore, I have suggested holding our next meeting at the beginning of next year. I consider it useful to discuss urgent problems regularly, to consult with each other on ways to resolve them, and to seek joint approaches at working meetings held at least twice a year.

I am certain that we are capable of coping with the tasks of deepening bilateral cooperation. This is also assisted by favorable conditions in international relations, which are being positively influenced by the new thinking and the Soviet Union's peace-loving initiatives.

The talks which have been held have once again demonstrated our unity on questions of society's revolutionary restructuring, which our fraternal communist parties are implementing. We have a common goal—to actively develop cooperation between our countries and strengthen peace throughout the world through joint efforts.

In conclusion L. Adamec advocated that full mutual understanding and cooperation between our governments bring the peoples of both countries increasingly fruitful results in the spheres of production, culture, and improved living and working conditions and in the enrichment of their lives as a whole, and that this unity and mutual understanding always be the strong basis of comprehensively useful ties along government and labor collective lines.

The speeches of Comrades N.I. Ryzhkov and L. Adamec were applauded.

The luncheon took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Assesses Talks With Officials

*LD0311154288 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 1 Nov 88*

[Report by correspondent Petr Voldan]

[Text] Comrade Ladislav Adamec has met in the Kremlin with Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers. The premiers discussed the current situation and prospects for Czechoslovak-Soviet relations, especially in the economic sphere.

At a festive dinner, held in honor of the federal premier, the two representatives delivered brief addresses in which they stressed the need to raise relations between the two countries to a qualitatively higher level. In the

afternoon, Ladislav Adamec met the highest Soviet party and state representative, Mikhail Gorbachev. In his study in the party Central Committee building, the two comrades spoke for about an hour on the progress of restructuring in Czechoslovakia and in the USSR, and they also discussed other questions. These topics are also discussed in the joint communique on the results of the working visit of Ladislav Adamec to Moscow.

Ladislav Adamec then granted an interview to correspondents of the Czechoslovak communications media accredited to Moscow.

The text of a joint communique will be published in the daily press.

The results of the Moscow talks were assessed by Ladislav Adamec in his interview shortly prior to his departure by air.

[Begin Adamec recording] We had a very cordial and interesting discussion. I told Comrade Ryzhkov about the state of our economy. The situation is not simple; it is relatively complicated inasmuch as we are not succeeding in fulfilling the plan of the current year. The results of this nonfulfillment, naturally, are reflected in many sectors which are justifiably criticized by our citizens—insufficient choice on the internal market, problems in health care, problems in services, in transport to and from work, and so on. I used the opportunity to provide information about restructuring in our country because I think that a number of experiences in the USSR can also be utilized in our country.

I respect the specific conditions and mentality of a people, but there are issues of general validity, and it would be a waste of time if we were to seek them ourselves, for we can have them ready-made. Comrade Ryzhkov met me half-way in that we have agreed that during December I will communicate to him those problems which we wish to discuss and resolve jointly. We will meet at a joint working session in January to finalize these issues and attempt to come up with a bilateral agreement.

I would also like to praise the fact that Comrade Ryzhkov briefed me very openly on restructuring in the USSR. He did not hide the many problems which restructuring brings about. This knowledge is very valuable to us: Many things are in common, as is usually the case between the two socialist countries, but I am convinced that we shall find a joint path to be able to consult further so that results can be beneficial to both sides.

In the afternoon I had the opportunity of participating in a discussion with Comrade Gorbachev. I briefed him in detail on the complicated problems of our economy, as well as on the justified criticism of our people. I told him how the government is resolving the issues arising from the party's Central Committee session, about the obstacles, complications, and possibilities for progress. Comrade

Gorbachev spoke quite openly about their experiences in restructuring. Many things are similar in our country—naturally, they are more advanced because they have been practicing restructuring for 4 years, but their difficulties are no smaller than those in our country.

On 8 November, the government will submit to the parliament a government statement which will attempt to win the trust of the parliament and of the people.

Our situation is also complicated because a number of issues are predetermined, the 5-year plan is fixed, a number of investment projects have already been worked out, and a number of resolutions are of a lasting validity. The visit confirmed my belief that I can always talk with the Soviet comrades completely openly, that I can rely on their full support, for one needs such protection for one's work, inasmuch as without the necessary optimism one cannot carry out this complicated work. [end recording]

Talyzin Attends CSSR National Day Celebration
LD2810050188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1900 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Excerpt] A ceremonial soiree devoted to the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the Czechoslovak Republic was held at the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship With Foreign Countries in Moscow. Igor Andreyanov, our correspondent, was there:

[Andreyanov] Soviet and Czechoslovak figures from science, culture, and art; members of the Czechoslovak-Soviet and Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Societies, and the Moscow public came here to mark this significant event. In the Presidium were Nikolay Vladimirovich Talyzin, deputy chairman of the Presidium and of the USSR Supreme Soviet; and senior officials from the CSSR Embassy in Moscow. Those who assembled were addressed by Gennadiy Alekseyevich Yagodin, chairman of the State Committee for Public Education, and Petr Kubascik, minister-counsellor at the CSSR Embassy. They noted that on 28 December [as heard] 1918, the Czech and Slovak peoples cast off the yoke of the Hapsburg monarchy with the spontaneous uprising by the people. However, the fruits of victory were enjoyed primarily by the bourgeoisie, who crushed the demonstrations by the working people. Thanks largely to the actions of the bourgeois government, Czechoslovakia was left without allies at the end of the thirties and was occupied for long years by Hitlerist forces. However, a new 28 October entered Prague on 9 May 1945, together with the Soviet soldier-liberators and the servicemen of General Svoboda's corps. The state was regenerated on a new class and social basis. It exists on that basis to this day. Now, Czechoslovakia is a state with developed industry and productive agriculture. [passage omitted]

Husak Hails Soviet Ties on CSSR National Day
PM0111105988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Oct 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "In Honor of Czechoslovakia's 70th Anniversary"]

[Text] Prague, 27 Oct—A festive session of the CSSR's supreme party, state, and public organs chaired by M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, was held today in Prague Castle to mark the 70th anniversary of the formation of an independent Czechoslovak state.

G. Husak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and president of the CSSR, delivered a speech.

In celebrating this jubilee anniversary, he said, we are paying tribute to all the generations which through their selfless and heroic struggle, brought nearer the materialization of the dream of national and social liberation and a happy joint life for Czechs and Slovaks within a united state. A truthful analysis of the experience of the past 70 years and a realistic appraisal of the results we have achieved and of the mistakes and tragedies along this path today help us perceive and discover new solutions to our political, economic, national, cultural, and other problems.

Speaking of Czechoslovakia's present, G. Husak emphasized that, in the implementation of restructuring, the CSSR's Communists and working people proceed from Czechoslovakia's domestic needs and development goals. The experience of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, which are solving similar problems and seeking new paths of development, are invaluable to us. The creative quest of Soviet Communists and the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference are an important source of inspiration for us.

The lasting friendship, alliance, and all-around cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries, the CSSR president went on, accord with the vital interests of the Czechoslovak people and are the foundation of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy course. We closely cooperate with them in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres. Together with our friends and allies, we are comprehensively developing socialist economic integration and are playing an active part in the work of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact organs. We will continue to rely on this cooperation in the future.

Czechoslovakia fully supports the peace initiatives by the USSR, other socialist community countries, and all states in the world which are against the threat of nuclear war, for disarmament, and for the deepening and development of international cooperation. We are in favor of a frank and

productive dialogue which would help the growth of trust between countries and the solution of the most important problems of our time, G. Husak emphasized.

A festive demonstration by working people was held in the Czechoslovak capital today to mark the 70th jubilee anniversary of independent Czechoslovakia. More than 200,000 people assembled in Wenceslas Square to demonstrate the unity of the party and the people and their support for the course of restructuring and the deepening of socialist democracy.

The assembly was greeted from the stand by M. Jakes, G. Husak, and L. Adamec, premier of the CSSR Government. A Moscow CPSU Gorkom delegation headed by Moscow CPSU Gorkom Secretary A.A. Nizovtseva was among those present.

CSSR's Stepan Meets With L.N. Zaykov
PM0311111588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks Held"]

[Text] On 31 October L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, met with M. Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Prague city party committee.

The talks touched on questions of further strengthening friendship and cooperation between the two fraternal capitals, including holding the traditional Prague festival in Moscow this December.

Participating in the meeting, which was held in a cordial, comradely atmosphere, were Z. Horcik, lord mayor of Prague, and also J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR.

Received by Solovyev in Leningrad
LD0211050888 Prague CTK in English 1452 GMT
1 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow Nov 1 (CTK Correspondent)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and head of the party Prague city committee Miroslav Stepan, who heads the committee's delegation on an official working visit to the Soviet Union, met in Leningrad today with Soviet Communist Party Politburo alternate member and First Secretary of the party Leningrad regional committee Yuriy Solovyev.

The Soviet representative informed Miroslav Stepan of the nearest tasks of the Leningrad party organization in the restructuring of society, the development of democracy and changing the structure of the party and state

bodies of the Leningrad region. At the same time he appreciated the first steps towards the establishment of concrete direct friendship relations with the Czechoslovak capital.

Miroslav Stepan acquainted Yuriy Solovyev with the conclusions of the 10th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and the ways of their practical implementation in the Prague party organization.

He stressed the wish of Prague to cooperate with Leningrad partners which will be of benefit to the working people of the two cities.

Further on Leningrad Visit

LD0311141888 *Moscow International Service in Czech*
1800 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] A delegation from the Czechoslovak capital visited the city on the Neva on 1 November. The aim of this friendly visit is to establish and develop cooperation between Leningrad and Prague. The guests were met by Yuriy Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom. He stressed that the inhabitants of Leningrad joyfully welcome the representatives of Prague, at a time when the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are commemorating the 70th anniversary of the birth of independent Czechoslovakia. The policy of the CPSU and the CPCZ—aiming at deep changes in economic and social-political life—favorably influences the whole range of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations, the first secretary said.

The Prague representatives were briefed on the work of the Leningrad party organization in conditions of extensive restructuring. Today important tasks are being accomplished in order to accelerate socioeconomic development of the city and its vicinity, implement economic and political reform, transfer key industrial branches to new conditions of management, and set up industrial associations. The party organization is to play an important role in solving these problems. The friendly relations between the two cities, Yuriy Solovyev believes, should focus on economic cooperation. At the same time, however, it is necessary to create a mechanism of integrated mutual cooperation which will enable combined efforts in the development of key technologies and scientifically challenging productions, and also in solving many other problems typical for such large cities as Leningrad and Prague.

Delegation head Miroslav Stepan, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and first secretary of the CPCZ Prague City Committee, expressed gratitude for the opportunity to get to know Leningrad, the life of its inhabitants, and the activity of the Leningrad party organization. We are ready to do everything we can to develop relations between the two cities. This work will develop while taking into account experiences

accumulated by enterprises, organizations, and scientific institutes which for a long time have had party contacts and close cooperation, Miroslav Stepan said.

Miroslav Stepan also spoke about progress in implementing the decisions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the follow-up sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee which are to take the country to a qualitatively new level of socioeconomic development and democratization of life in Czechoslovak society.

In Smolnyy, the delegation visited the memorial museum for the founder of the CPSU and the Soviet state, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, and laid flowers at the monument to him near the historical building.

Western 'Coordinators' of Prague Unrest Condemned

LD0111135588 *Moscow Domestic Service in Russian*
0830 GMT 01 Nov 88

[Text] Who is confusing democracy with anarchy? Our correspondent in Bratislava, Aleksandr Samoylin, reports:

[Samoylin] This was the headline RUDE PRAVO and Bratislava's PRAVDA gave to reports devoted to the recent events in Prague's Wenceslas Square. Taking advantage of the national festivities on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the formation of a sovereign Czechoslovak state, specific groups of people, mainly young people, attempted on the day after a citywide meeting to hold their own demonstration in the center of the capital. Incidentally, it was known in advance that a demonstration was being prepared. The authors of the articles write that the action had been put forward some time ago by foreign antisocialist immigrant centers. The coordinators and inspiration for it were the mass media of the NATO countries and particularly the official radio station of the U.S. Government, Voice of America. Thus, those so eager for an extension of democracy in the socialist countries have not given up. True, of late, the work of the wellwishers in the West has been getting harder and harder, and this is why they are trying to take advantage at every opportunity of those who are still confusing democracy and anarchy.

The brief interview with several of those who took part in the demonstration and who the police arrested in Wenceslas Square is of interest. Almost all of them have a vague concept not only of the history of the emergence of their own state, of such major political figures as Masaryk and Benes, but also have only a feeble impression in general of what the demonstration itself was seeking to achieve. I think that more substantive answers would have been given by those who gathered in Wenceslas Square the day before when 200,000 Prague residents and guests of the capital demonstrated their unequivocal support for their socialist future, for restructuring, and the further democratization of society.

LCY Presidium Discusses Upcoming Congress
LD0311151188 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT
3 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade October 3 TASS—"The forthcoming 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) will be devoted to democratic transformations in the party with a view to realizing its leading ideological and political role in society", says a report on the meeting of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee published in the press today.

The Presidium discussed the key issues related to the preparations for and concept of the party forum. The congress is called upon to think over a further development of socialism, in Yugoslavia in line with the strategic course of the Yugoslav socialist revolution and socialist self-government.

Thatcher Talks With Poland's Rakowski Noted
LD0311172688 Moscow TASS in English 1629 GMT
3 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw November 3 TASS—By TASS correspondent Viktor Runov:

Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers, met here today with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The Polish prime minister described his government's activity and intentions concerning the implementation of the country's social, political and economic tasks.

Special attention was given to objectives advanced in the process of implementing reforms and the plan of consolidating the economy.

The sides also discussed the present state of cooperation and the future of ties between the two countries in various spheres.

The head of the Polish Government stressed the need for invigorating economic and trade cooperation, including the sphere of co-production and establishment of joint ventures.

He emphasised the importance of creating a favourable psychological climate in relations which would facilitate the normalization of Poland's financial relations with Western countries.

Rakowski noted with satisfaction that there were positive trends in cooperation and stressed the need for the active use of the available potential.

The two sides considered a number of international issues, paying special attention to the necessity for consolidating the process of disarmament and cooperation in Europe.

More on Thatcher in Warsaw
LD0411093888 Moscow TASS International Service
Russian 2350 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Nov (TASS)—The first visit by a head of the British Government to Poland is an event of tremendous importance in bilateral relations and also has all-European significance, declared Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the PPR State Council. Speaking on Thursday [3 November] in Warsaw at a dinner in honor of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who is in Poland on an official visit, he pointed out that this event is taking place at a noteworthy moment in history, when new thinking is making headway ever more confidently, and detente in international relations is making itself felt more and more. Europe, said the Polish leader, is now seeking new roads. The conception of a common "European home" is being born, opening up great prospects for all the people living in the area between Lisbon and the Urals, between Edinburgh and Palermo. Poland is a keen supporter of this great idea. The development of economic cooperation is of particular significance at the present time.

W. Jaruzelski expressed the conviction that the successful development of Polish-British relations will be a valuable contribution to the all-European process.

In her reply, M. Thatcher said that in both Britain and Europe, one can find great readiness for the most major contacts of various kinds, combined with the desire for the peoples of Eastern Europe to play a significantly large role in the life of the whole continent. It is for this reason, stressed the head of the British Government, that we want to expand economic and commercial contacts between the countries of the EC and the socialist states. Therefore, we welcomed the bold and valiant reforms undertaken by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in the Soviet Union, and we sincerely hope that he will be successful.

Karoly Grosz Addresses MSZMP Plenum
LD0411034088 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT
3 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest November 3 TASS—Questions of the political situation in the country, the party's topical tasks, the development of the national economy in the current year and the guidelines of the economic policy in the coming period have been discussed at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which has been held here.

Speaking at the plenary meeting, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic Karoly Grosz has said that for implementation of the tasks facing the country there are already concrete decisions and programmes which were adopted at this year's all-Hungary party conference. There is no need now to draw up new programmes, but

it is necessary to put into life those already adopted so that a programme of action, designed for a longer period, could be drawn up in time for the 14th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party—in the course of broad discussions in the party and society.

The party organisations became more independent in their work after the all-Hungary party conference, activities of the National Assembly and the government are being perfected, he said. It is essential that the communists should be more active in all basic organisations of the system of political institutions, above all in the trade union, he said.

The general secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party underlined the need for improving work with the personnel work in the party, enhancing the prestige and personal responsibility of the communists for the mission entrusted.

Speaking on activities of the press, Karoly Grosz said that he had been and remained in favour of the active role of the press. If previously the press unfoundedly drew a beautiful picture, now its pronouncements become more censoring in character. Such a distortion should be eliminated, but not by administrative methods, but through stepping up the dialogue with journalists, with those who are willing to help but do not know how to do that.

Touching upon questions of economic development the Hungarian leader underlined the need for further efforts to enhance the efficiency of production and perfect its structure.

West Europe

Preparations for Soviet-French Space Flight

LD0311173288 Moscow TASS in English 1714 GMT
3 Nov 88

[Text] Paris November 3 TASS—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krivykh reports:

The preparation for the coming Soviet-French space flight is being concluded successfully and French cosmonauts Jean-Loup Chretien and his stand-by Michel Tognini are fully prepared for the launch and work in space. Leaders of the French National Centre of Space Exploration said this at a news conference here today.

An international crew which will include a French cosmonaut is to carry out serious and responsible work in space. As many as 14 scientific and technological experiments prepared by French scientists and specialists will be staged during the flight on board the orbital station Mir. Medical research, specifically studies of the state of the cosmonaut's health in weightlessness will make up considerable part of the work.

But a space work and the installment of a new panel of solar batteries will be one of the main components of the cosmonauts' work in space. This work will be carried out by the crew's commander and the French cosmonaut. It was said at the news conference that the French cosmonauts will work on a par with their Soviet colleagues under the flight programme.

Frederic d'Allest, director general of the French National Centre of Space Exploration, told the reporters that the coming joint Soviet-French flight which will last for about four weeks will give the French side a unique chance to study the possibilities of cosmonauts' activity in orbit. This is of much importance for France and for other West European countries, particularly in the light of their implementation of the programme for the creation of an orbital complex and space shuttle "Hermes," which has been worked out by the European Space Agency. Besides that, properties of a number of new construction materials meant for the construction of "Hermes" will be studied during the flight on board the station Mir. The first tests of this West-European six-seater spaceship are planned for 1993.

In an interview to the TASS correspondent, Joel Toulouse, supervisor of the programme of the National Centre of Space Exploration for the preparation for the Soviet-French space flight, expressed the hope that the entire programme will be implemented successfully. "Our cooperation in space exploration does not end at this," she said. Both sides are truly interested in the further advance on this road which helps achieve scientific goals set and strengthen mutual understanding among nations.

FRG, French Leaders Begin Talks in Bonn

LD0311195788 Moscow TASS in English 1942 GMT
3 Nov 88

[Text] Bonn November 3 TASS—West German-French political consultations at top-level opened in Bonn today. They involve West German President Richard von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, and also French President Francois Mitterrand, Prime Minister Michel Rocard, and a whole number of ministers of both countries.

The participants in the talks give center stage to the outcome of Kohl's recent official visit to the Soviet Union. An official spokesman for the West German Government stated that the chancellor intended to inform in detail the French president about the results of the trip to the Soviet capital and the numerous economic agreements and contracts signed between the USSR and West Germany during the visit. Kohl's political objective is to extend the foundation of trust between the two countries and put relations between them on a solid footing of goodneighbourliness, DPA news agency points out.

It is stressed in local political quarters that in Bonn they attach particular importance to the current consultations. A key topic of the West German-French negotiations at top level is the problems of disarmament and arms control, and also the situation at the Vienna meeting of representatives of the participating states in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in the light of the results of the chancellor's visit to the USSR and the forthcoming visit of the French president to the Soviet Union.

According to news agency reports, the West German and French leaders pay priority attention also to questions related to the preparation of a summit meeting of the Common Market member states due to take place early in December. Besides, they discuss the policy of West Germany and France vis-a-vis the Warsaw Treaty member states, the situation in the Middle East, problems of West German-French cooperation, including in the sphere of creating a single European market.

West German and French defence ministers negotiate the setting up of a secretariat in Paris to coordinate the activity of the joint defence council whose goal is to promote a further deepening of the West German-French military cooperation. In this connection the Greens Party criticized the moves to forge the Bonn-Paris military axis. It released a statement here pointing out that West Germany and France should take joint measures for disarmament rather than deepen military cooperation.

Latin America & Caribbean

Gorbachev Reportedly To Visit Cuba in December
LD0411095588 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0847 GMT 4 Nov

[Text] Havana, Nov 4 (TANJUG)—Soviet state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev will visit Cuba in December, it has been learned in Havana on Friday.

Gorbachev will be the second Soviet leader to visit Cuba since the victory of the revolution in 1959. The only other Soviet leader to visit Havana was Leonid Brezhnev, who headed the Soviet delegation to the first congress of the Cuban Communist Party in 1975.

This will be Gorbachev's fourth meeting with Cuban state and party leader Fidel Castro, who has visited Moscow three times in the past two years.

Naval Squadron Makes Havana Port Call 3 Nov
LD0411100288 Moscow TASS in English 1858 GMT
3 Nov 88

[Text] Havana November 3 TASS—A Soviet Naval squadron consisting of the Vice-Admiral Kulakov big anti-submarine ship, the Zadorniy escort ship, a diesel

submarine and a tanker under the command of Vice Admiral I.V. Kasatonov arrived in the port of Havana today for an official friendly visit.

Accompanied by the volleys of the artillery salute, the Soviet naval ships entered the harbour. They were welcomed at the port by Rear Admiral Pedro Miguel Perez Betancour, alternate member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, deputy minister of the revolutionary armed forces and the commander of the revolutionary Navy of the Republic of Cuba.

In the course of the visit Soviet Sailors will familiarize themselves with the life of the people of socialist Cuba, will visit industrial enterprises, see the sights of Havana and meet with sailors and working people of Cuba.

Salvadoran Rebels Launch New Offensive
LD0411034388 Moscow TASS in English 0606 GMT
3 Nov 88

[Text] Havana November 3 TASS—The attack on the headquarters of the National Guard in the very heart of San Salvador on Tuesday marked the beginning of a new offensive campaign by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMNLF) against government troops.

The guerrillas will launch an offensive in all departments of the country, concentrating their strikes on the main economic facilities of the regime, stated the rebels' Venceremos radio station.

The Joint General Staff of the Armed Forces admitted that the regime had lost 34 officers and men killed or wounded as a result of the stunning blow dealt by the patriots.

Venceremos reports that FMNLF fighting-men attacked one of factories in Apopa, 15 km north of San Salvador, on Wednesday under the plan for a new offensive. Four soldiers were killed and another four wounded during the fighting.

Simultaneously with the operation, guerrillas blew up several pylons of high-voltage power transmission lines in San Salvador's suburb.

Argentina Industrial Cooperation Agreement Signed
LD2810005288 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2251 GMT 27 Oct 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The 11th sitting of the mixed Soviet-Argentinian commission on trade economics, and scientific-technical cooperation was held 24-27 October in Moscow. The two countries' delegations looked at the state of Soviet-Argentinian economic and scientific-technical links and

mapped out measures for developing them further in spheres of mutual interest. An agreement on industrial cooperation between the USSR and Argentina was signed.

Cables Exchanged on Mexican Independence Anniversary
PM0111093788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado a telegram conveying congratulations and wishes for the friendly Mexican people's happiness and prosperity on the national holiday—the 178th anniversary of the proclamation of Mexican independence.

The greetings note the Soviet Union's readiness to further develop Soviet-Mexican relations for the good of the two countries' peoples and in the interests of international peace and security. The Soviet Union and Mexico, the telegram stresses, are linked by a desire for a nuclear-free and nonviolent world, the recognition of each people's right to self-determination and independent development, and the growing collaboration between the two countries in the quest for solutions to other urgent problems of the day.

Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado's reply telegram expressed thanks on behalf of the Mexican people and on his own behalf for the congratulations and sent good wishes for the Soviet people's prosperity and well-being.

Political & Social

Television Reports 3 Nov Politburo Session

LD0311195588 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 3 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] At its meeting on 3 November, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo examined a number of questions on state and economic construction and international life.

The progress of work on drafts of legislative acts concerning judiciary reform, which are being drawn up in accordance with the instructions of the 19th CPSU Conference and the July 1988 Central Committee plenum, was examined in detail.

It was noted at the meeting that enhancing the role of the courts in establishing legality and social justice and defending citizens' rights and the interests of the state is of fundamental importance in resolving the tasks of restructuring and must be regarded as an inalienable condition for the formation of the socialist, law-governed state.

Special attention was devoted to the need to provide judges and people's assessors with all conditions for the effective use of their powers and to guarantee their independence and inviolability and the inadmissibility of any interference in judicial business.

Drafts of the foundations of the legislation of the USSR and the union republics on judicial administration in the USSR and of the law on the status of judges in the USSR are at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and will be submitted for examination by the country's supreme organ of power.

The meeting examined the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting and Comrade Ryzhkov's and Comrade Yakovlev's talks with Comrade Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. It was noted that the constant contacts between the leaders of the USSR and Poland are especially important at the present time, when both sides are tackling complicated and crucial issues of their development. Striving toward greater dynamism and an increase in Soviet-Polish cooperation meets the fundamental interests of the USSR and Poland.

Having discussed the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryshkov's talks with Comrade Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Government, the Central Committee Politburo observed with satisfaction that the exchange of views has enabled important accords to be reached on fuller and

deeper cooperation between the national economic complexes of the USSR and the CSSR and on the creation of favorable conditions for the development of new forms of division of labor between the two countries.

Instructions were given to Communists and heads of departments and organizations on specific tasks regarding comprehensive cooperation with Poland and the CSSR.

The Politburo approved the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's talks with FRG Federal Chancellor Kohl and also of the conversations between Comrades Ryzhkov, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, and Yazov on one hand, and FRG statesmen and representatives of that country's business circles on the other. The talks and conversations confirm the great significance of intensifying the multifaceted interaction between the USSR and the FRG and represent an important contribution to the implementation of the task set by both sides in opening a new chapter in USSR-FRG relations. Attainment of this objective presupposes respect for the territorial and political realities that exist in Europe and are enshrined in the Moscow treaty and the other treaties between the FRG and the socialist countries, the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, and the Helsinki Final Act. That the visit was rich in practical results confirms the great opportunities for further developing USSR-FRG cooperation in various spheres, including economics, on the principles of equality and mutual benefit. Comrade Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to the FRG will make it possible to consolidate the positive trends in relations with the FRG and impart new dynamics and scale to them.

The session also examined the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola. Solidarity with the Angolan people's progressive choice and their struggle to defend their country's independence and sovereignty was confirmed. It was emphasized that the USSR favors a rapid conclusion to the talks on a political settlement in southwest Africa on the basis of ensuring Angola's security and attaining independence for Namibia.

A report was heard by Comrade Shevardnadze on the results of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Affairs Ministers Session held 28-29 October in Budapest. The session once again confirmed the unity of the standpoints of the allied states on the main foreign-political problems and their willingness to actively assist in consolidating the development of positive trends in international affairs. Emphasis was laid on the topicality of the statement adopted in Budapest on measures for reinforcing trust and security and for disarmament in Europe, which in combination with the Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee on talks on reducing armed

forces and conventional weapons supplements and develops the approaches being taken by the Warsaw Pact participant-states to the forthcoming talks on those issues.

Gostev, Maslyukov Answer Reporters' Questions
LD0311113988 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1917 GMT 2 Nov 88

["Report from the USSR Council of Ministers News Conference" held on 1 November on the results of the latest session of the USSR Supreme Soviet; introduced by unidentified presenter; with B.I. Gostev, minister of finance; Yu.D. Maslyukov, Gosplan chairman, and N.A. Voznesenskiy; reporters ask questions in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation; video shows Gostev, Maslyukov, Voznesenskiy on platform answering questions from assembled journalists—recorded]

[Text] [Presenter] Let us say it straight out, we have not often managed to put questions directly to leaders and members of the government. For so many years, information came from them on a one-sided basis, in the form of decisions on the pages of the newspapers. Of course, it was easier not to think, taking on trust the ministers' wisdom about the implementation of the state's economic policy, and to yield to illusions of prosperity. Now the covers have been torn off many secrets, and in the final analysis it is becoming clear that the great transformation cannot be implemented until each person, at his place of work, understands where, how, and at what rate the economy must move, toward what he must orientate himself, and what he must reject in his affairs. It was with such thoughts that our camera crew came to this news conference, organized by the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Maslyukov] You recently read my report at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I do not consider it necessary to repeat that report. I would like to just stress some main peculiarities of the plan for 1989. This is primarily, of course, the social orientation of the plan, which is expressed in all the aspects of that wide meaning. Secondly, it is the restructuring of our industry and national economy. Thirdly, if you like, it is that the plan is in accordance with the radical economic reform that is in progress in the Soviet Union. Fourthly, it is that the plan is in accordance with the political reform that is also in progress at present.

I would just like to inform you about how the economic reform is proceeding now in the Soviet Union and what the main elements are that we are preparing to solve, our immediate tasks and our immediate projects, which are going to promote the development of the reform.

Primarily, I would like to note that in 1987-88 60 percent of the output of the Soviet national economy has been produced at enterprises that have moved over to full financial autonomy and self-financing. In '89, 100 percent of industrial enterprises and agricultural enterprises

will be working on those principles, and I think that in '89 we shall virtually complete the changeover of the nonproduction sphere to the same principles.

What do the first results of the work of enterprises on principles of financial autonomy and self-financing show? First of all, all their indicators are somewhat better than the indicators of other enterprises. First [as heard] an interest in satisfying the needs of the consumer has been created. Second, labor productivity is growing, reduction of staff is in progress, and the interest of each individual worker in the execution of the tasks placed before the enterprise has risen somewhat. Also, a process of careful utilization of resources is beginning—something which has not been observed in our country in recent times.

At the same time, it would be incorrect to say that we are satisfied with the progress of development of reform and that we have no tasks left. Therefore, we have in future to solve many problems in order to improve perceptibly the quality of production, to intensify the influence of scientific and technical progress on the activity of enterprises, and to increase the interest of each individual worker in the results of his labor.

[Presenter] In this section the Gosplan chairman noted, as a radical measure, the transition of enterprises to the second model of financial autonomy, the basis of which is the right of normative distribution of gross income, given to the enterprise itself. One hundred collectives are already working according to the second model, so that there is a little bit of experience—as with the development of lease contracting—to which the party is today paying enormous attention, assessing leasing as a mechanism capable of engaging the very deepest reserves of the socialist economy.

[Maslyukov] And the last thing which I would like to say to you is that wholesale trade will play a very essential part for the normal functioning of the new economic mechanism. That is, its growth rates are significant. If we have around 40 billion [currency not specified] in wholesale trade this year, next year it will be 115 trillion and in 1990—115 billion, pardon me—in 1990 it will be over 200 billion. That is to say, we shall welcome in every way and encourage this method of forming the market, our socialist market.

[Presenter] Boris Ivanovich Gostev, the minister of finance, described the state of the budget like this:

[Gostev] Budget revenue has been determined as a sum of R460 billion—we shall put it in round figures. The main sources of revenue are payments from enterprises' profits, turnover tax, revenue from foreign economic activity and receipts from the population. The overall sum of budget expenditure will come to R495 billion, expressed as a round figure, with growth of 11 percent. The main part of it is directed toward social needs. In view of the fact that budget expenditure is rising more

quickly than revenue, we have not managed to balance the budget at the given stage. This was spoken about frankly at the session. As a result, a shortfall of financial resources has formed, amounting to R35 billion, or 7 percent of the volume of the budget, or around 4 percent of gross national product, as it is customary to count it in the West. The center of gravity in balancing the budget is now being transferred to practical work. We are talking about rejecting expenditure with a low yield, putting an end to the scattering of resources and making fuller use of existing reserves—and we do have them in the economy.

[Voznesenskiy] Esteemed colleagues, your first questions, please. Go ahead.

[Reporter] DAGENS INDUSTRI newspaper, Sweden. I have one question, for Mister Gostev. Could you say when this deficit first arose, and how much this deficit has amounted to each year in this period? Thank you.

[Gostev] I shall tell you directly that the deficit did not arise this year—this was said in the report—and that there are various causes for the budget deficit. First, there is the legacy of the past, as was said, and second, there are circumstances connected to contemporary development. Our budget deficit—I think it arose about 10 years ago in our country and reached especially critical figures in the last years of the preceding 5-year plan period—our budget deficit has now been stabilized, and we are taking measures to reduce it.

[Reporter] A question from THE NEW YORK TIMES. Could you give an assessment of the problem of inflation in the Soviet Union? Do you regard it as a problem that is intensifying? What are its causes and what can be done here to reduce inflation?

[Maslyukov] It has to be said frankly that the Soviet Union has inflation; we do have this tendency, but the nature of this inflation is somewhat different than in Western countries. It manifests itself above all in the fact that our market is experiencing a structural shift of production in the direction of eroding out cheap goods. In other words, inflation is manifested not in a direct rise in prices, but more in the fact that cheap goods are disappearing from the shelves.

[Gostev] I would say that the major articles and statements that have appeared in the press and the mass propaganda media have dealt more with changes in average retail prices, sometimes confusing these with price rises, in other words with the prices on price lists. It should suffice for me to cite an example which you will all understand. In place of black-and-white television sets, we are now producing color sets on a massive scale. They naturally cost more. As a result, the average price goes up. But that is not a rise in prices.

[Maslyukov] Of course, because the new economic mechanism is beginning to operate a natural increase in wages is taking place, because the effectiveness of the

work of enterprises is going up and the whole of the economic effect remains practically in the hands of the collective. So pay is going up, and that is evident from the mere fact that the profits of enterprises are going up. This year we expect an additional growth in profits of around R10 and possibly R11 billion. Part of these funds will undoubtedly be put into wages. And if the rate of increase of wages exceeds the rate of growth of production of consumer goods, whether we like it or not, inflationary processes will unquestionably emerge.

Today, in order to stop these processes, the plan for next year envisages that the rate of growth of pay will be somewhat lower—by a small amount, a little over 1 percent—but all the same the rate of increase in pay will be lower than the rate of growth in production of consumer goods and the rate of growth of goods turnover, services included. Thus, I would also like to add that things will be kept under scrutiny [ustanavlivayetsya kontrol]. I don't think that the growth in inflation will slow down or come to a halt. A certain period of time will no doubt elapse before we manage to cope with this problem. But we shall make efforts to see that it does not go up.

[Gostev, off camera] The correlation of productivity and pay will be kept under stricter scrutiny [budet boleyev zhestko kontrolirovatsya] from next year.

[Reporter] Boris Ivanovich, your report said that the income of the population had gone up by 9.1 percent in the first 9 months of the year, while the increase in productivity and industrial output had been much lower—according to the indices. This money that is today being shared out at any enterprise you go to, with the trade union convening and distributing bonuses, and so on, this money is unearned. I should like us to hear from the minister of finance, because many people still have their doubts about this.

[Gostev] Let me tell you frankly: When money runs ahead of an increase in productivity, the money is unearned.

[Reporter] Georgiy [as heard] Dmitriyevich, your report at the council of Ministers session continued the thought that ministries continued to submit applications for allocations of material and technical resources for the following year at a level far in excess of requirements. We know that as soon as it switches to real—not partial—financial autonomy, every kolkhoz team immediately gets rid of excess equipment, and prefers to use horses not tractors, if that is possible. But the ministries do not act in this manner. Thus, the new economic mechanism has failed to operate on a principal point—I refer to the share-out of the big state cake, and not the crumbs that are allocated at enterprises.

[Maslyukov] There can be only one way out: The transition to the second form of financial autonomy by all a ministry's enterprises. Then the ministry itself, not having the practical resources to redeem the increased quantity of resources which is asked for, will act in strict accordance with the realities that exist at the enterprise; and the enterprise will have no interest in buying more, because the more money it invests in above-norm resources, as we call them today, the less it receives to distribute its revenue—it will be spending the revenue with which it is supposed to build all its social, cultural, and domestic facilities, to pay wages, to provide social guarantees, and so on, and so on, and so on. Therefore, I would answer you in this way: The way out—and I spoke about this in my opening remarks—is the completion of a system for creating economic stimuli for the transition to the second model, and the second model, in itself, rejects these complaints.

[Reporter] Will the Ministry of (Foreign Economic Relations) also go over to the second model? It's not suffering any loss at all at the present moment, so it's receiving superfluous resources and sitting on them.

[Maslyukov] That is to say, we have tried—let us recall a story of 4 years ago—to transfer the ministries to financial autonomy. All that ended with the ministries fixing a certain proportion of deductions from the enterprises for their own maintenance, and this was called, you remember, an All-Union Financially Autonomous Industrial Association. We convinced them that all this was a forgery and cancelled it. That is to say, the ministry, while it exists, is a superstructural organization: It must be controlled by the Council of Ministers and the central bodies and must receive a fixed salary.

[Presenter] And then, in the next question, there was suddenly a reference to the opinion of one of our well-known economists, Academician Shatalin. His article was published in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA a few days ago.

[Reporter] Yuriy Dmitriyevich, Shatalin said in his interview that we are, all the same, proceeding by half-measures. To cut industrial ministries by one-third, one-half, or two-thirds is a half-measure. They must be cut totally: They are unnecessary. What is your attitude to that?

[Maslyukov] Comrade Shatalin would like to be a better Catholic than the Pope, and he proposes that all the ministries be eliminated immediately, considering that they are a harmful (?way of managing) the national economy, of course. But let us look at this from a somewhat different angle. Are 50,000 enterprises—small, medium, and large—currently able, each looking after themselves, to guarantee a unified technological orientation and the provision for the state of the necessary products, without having any horizontal ties which are well enough established? I do not think so. Evidently, one day there will be no ministries, and there will be no

need for them, but in order to do this, we must create a completely different structure at the bottom, that is, the base of the pyramid upon which the rest of the system is built, including the administrative system.

Certain steps have been taken in this direction, you know that all the ministries are currently reorganizing their structure in the sphere of formation of major scientific-production associations, and interdepartmental state production associations with their own scientific back-up, not subordinate to any of the ministries and getting state orders from Gosplan, have emerged. That is, there is very rapid growth of these major associations around which the small enterprises and small firms are concentrating, including leased ones, which will create the necessary infrastructure to make cardinal changes to the structures of management.

The superstructure will be changing in step with the creation of this infrastructure. So, if one is talking about constructiveness and the constructive role of this process, what is needed is to begin at the bottom, and to expand there and pass more and more management functions from the top to the bottom. Once we have given these functions to the lower levels, then we can talk about eliminating the administration. If one is talking about destruction, then one can do it just as Comrade Shatalin says, and bring everything down, but then some unknown persons will have to bring it all together into a unified state plan, a unified state policy, including a technological one. And so, that is my opinion on this opinion of Comrade Shatalin.

[Voznesenskiy] I propose that we rectify an error of principle in our work, that is, that we finally let at least one woman speak. Please, go on.

[Female Reporter] (Susanna Gerhard), for ZDF, German television second program. More and more wine departments are now opening in Moscow. Does the Soviet Government intend to halt the anti-alcoholism campaign so as to eliminate the deficit in the national economy?

[Voznesenskiy] Who among you is the biggest expert on this problem?

[Gostev] It is hard to say who is the expert!

[Maslyukov] Boris Ivanovich!

[Voznesenskiy] Boris Ivanovich, yes? Fine.

[Gostev] My thanks to Yuriy Dmitriyevich, of course! But I think that inasmuch as this is linked by you with the budget deficit, I must reply to this question in the negative. Production of wine and spirits in our country at present is running at 160 million decaliters, which is half the previous level. No one intends to go back to where we were. And as far as what is being done is concerned—you have no doubt read the decision of the

Central Committee—we must of course eliminate the disgraceful phenomenon such as lines. In places there have no doubt been leftist deviations [levatskiye zagiby]. They occur frequently, in any activity. We are simply putting things into normal order, acting within the adopted decision, and on no account departing from the decision that was adopted on the struggle against the production and marketing of wines and spirits. I would put it like this: (?Without) running ahead of ourselves, we are bringing things to a normal condition.

[Presenter] You must agree that the reply was unequivocal. It makes everything clear. And other matters will on more than one occasion yet be dealt with at news conferences by the council of Ministers, which, as we have been told, are to take place in this conference room at least twice a month, on Mondays. The topic is so serious that many more questions arise on it than were raised at the first briefing, let alone than could be contained in this brief program.

Sakharov Discusses Destiny, Pace of Restructuring
WA18000090 Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII
in Russian 11 Oct 88 p 2

[Interview with Academician Andrey Sakharov and his wife Yelena Georgiyevna Bonner by special correspondent Mark Levin: "I Tried To Be On the Level of My Destiny...."—conclusion of the publication of materials prepared by MOLODEZH ESTONII special correspondent during the 38th conference of the participants in the Pugwash Movement]

[Excerpts] For some time the name of this person has thundered throughout the world. He is quoted everywhere and looked upon as a standard of civil courage and spiritual firmness. Whereas in our country.... Obviously we are not all that able to protect our geniuses if we dared to deprive Academician Sakharov of his three stars of Hero of Socialist Labor by an "arbitrary decision," and send him into exile without a trial and an investigation.... Now, however, when the age of the triumph of conservatism, dogmatism and vulgarity appears to become part of the past, the name of Academician Andrey Sakharov is beginning to return in our country as well as though from nonexistence.

Okudzhava is right: Anything can happen! At the 38th conference of the participants in the Pugwash Movement in Dagomys, A.D. Sakharov read a paper; the U.S. ambassador to the USSR presented him with a certificate of honorary membership in the American Academy of Fine Arts and Literature.... The only prize that he has is the Nobel....

During the proceedings of the 38th Pugwash Conference, Academician Sakharov kindly agreed to be interviewed by MOLODEZH ESTONII. His wife, Yelena Georgiyevna Bonner, participated in our conversation.

[Question] Some speak of the "age of Brezhnev;" others speak of the "age of Sakharov." Who is right, Andrey Dmitriyevich?

[Answer] I think that it is excessive to name ages after specific people. For that reason, it seems to me that neither name should be used. A precise name has already been found for our age: "the age of stagnation." Let us keep calling it such. As to the way individuals act during that age, that is a different matter.

[Question] If the state is a machinery of violence, under such circumstances a person may not feel too comfortable. You experienced this personally.... Therefore, from your viewpoint, is it possible to find ways to harmonize relations between the individual and the state, between the person and society?

[Answer] An ideal harmony will always remain inaccessible, being ideal by definition. However, the more democratic the state is, and the more punctiliously it observes human rights, the more it is a state of law, i.e., the stricter both individuals and the state must obey the law (regardless of the position of that individual in society), the closer we come to the state of harmony. Naturally, the laws as well must be democratic.

[Question] Since we are speaking of harmony, it may be pertinent to recall Dostoyevsky's formula: "Beauty will save the world." What could save the world today? What could also save man in the world?

[Answer] On the individual level, I think that what matters here is a certain moral code and the individual qualities and features which are manifested through the actions of the people and their active morality. As to the global situation, I believe that the world is threatened for a number of reasons. All of them, however, become drastically aggravated as a result of the division of the world into two competing (or confrontational, which is worse and more dangerous) systems. A rapprochement between these sociopolitical systems (the capitalist and the socialist) and their convergence are the necessary prerequisites for eliminating the danger which threatens mankind.

[Question] You just mentioned "active morality." What meaning do you invest in this concept?

[Answer] Active concern for those around us and, if possible, active concern for those who are far from us. The first condition, however, is mandatory.

Ye. Bonner: Kaysyn Kuliyeu wrote the following: "It is easy to love all mankind, learn how to love your neighbor!" I am saying this as an extension of Andrey Dmitriyevich's thought....

A. Sakharov: In our life together, Yelena Georgiyevna has frequently quoted those words to me and today I believe that it is precisely under her influence that this thought has become closer to me than in the past, when I was, let us say, somewhat dealing with the abstract.

[Question] Nonetheless you, Andrey Dmitriyevich, have always been a very active personality, whether in science or social practice.... You also developed the atomic and hydrogen bombs, this too is a universally known fact. Have you ever regretted that you became involved with this terrible weapon? Although what weapon is not terrible....

[Answer] Let me begin with a factual reference. I was recruited to do secret work in 1948, to work on the creation of a thermonuclear weapon (and not simply atomic, for technically there is a difference between the two). This weapon was even more terrible than the one which was used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.... So, we (and here I must speak not only in my behalf, for in such cases moral principles are formulated as though collectively-psychologically) believed that our work was absolutely necessary as a means of achieving a balance in the world. Lack of balance is very dangerous: The side which feels itself to be stronger could be encouraged to make the fastest possible use of its own temporary advantage, while the weaker side may be pushed into taking adventurous, desperate steps to gain time while the advantage enjoyed by the opponent is not too great. I still think so. In the final account, the work which we did was justified as was the work which was done by our colleagues on the opposite side. Nonetheless, we can say that the world was able to stop sliding toward its doom, toward the horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and has been holding out for more than 40 years now. However, it is always wrong for a person to retain the same position or to assess it outside the dynamics, the changes of the times. You, Yelena, recently quoted Thomas Mann....

Ye. Bonner: He said that the stubborn defense by a person of any one of his viewpoints or doctrines, regardless of changes in social and historical conditions, can be described only as historical stupidity.

A. Sakharov: It seems to me that in the course of my life I have tried to avoid this "historical stupidity." The word "historical" seems somehow pompous. However, my destiny has been, in a certain sense, exceptional. Let me remark, not because of false modesty but the desire to be accurate, that my fate turned out to be greater than my personality. I merely tried to be on the level of my own destiny, while avoiding the temptation of such a "historical stupidity."

[Question] In general, do you believe in fate?

[Answer] I believe in virtually nothing other than a kind of social sensation of the inner meaning of the course of events, events occurring not only in the life of mankind but, in general, in the universe. I do not believe in fate as

such. I believe that the future is unpredictable and undefined. It is created by all of us, step by step, in the course of our endless complex interaction.

[Question] If I understood you correctly, you believe that everything is not "in God's hands" but "in the hands of mankind?"

[Answer] Here we have an interaction between both forces but the freedom of choice remains man's. That is what makes great the role of the person positioned by fate at some key points in history. Parts of a personal destiny may be predetermined and parts may not. For example, I was asked on several occasions to participate in work on nuclear weapons....

Ye. Bonner: Voluntarily to participate! He was offered scientific freedom, comforts, material goods....

A. Sakharov: Yes, to participate voluntarily.... Each time, however, I refused. My fate, however, caught up with me.... And when I was recruited for such work (and we, I repeat, considered it important and necessary), at that point I began to work not because of fear but of conscience, with a great deal of initiative. Although I cannot conceal another aspect of the matter: I found the work very interesting. This is not what Fermi described as an "interest in physics." The interest here was caused by the grandiose nature of the problems, the possibility to prove what one can do, above all to oneself. That is what makes a scientist. Let me add that all of this developed against a background which was influenced by the still fresh memory of the terrible war which had just ended. I had not participated in that war, and now that was my own war. As though a war....

Ye. Bonner: Should work at the defense plant where you were while the fighting was going on be ignored?

A. Sakharov: Nonetheless, this was on a different level. Now I found myself on the front line itself. Later I even joked that if we were awarded a gold star, it should be not as a Hero of Socialist Labor but as a Hero of the Soviet Union, for we had to assume great responsibility for technical and political decisions of tremendous importance. This demanded courage....

[Question] Therefore, already then you realized that the political significance of your research and experimentation and tests was not transient? That your bomb could change the political and psychological climate on earth?

Not entirely. The fullness of this understanding came later, sometime in the mid-1950s, during the time of the second thermonuclear test. But let me say more about our psychological motivation.

Naturally, it changed both in me and in Igor Yevgenyevich Tamm (USSR Academy of Sciences academician, Hero of Socialist Labor, Nobel Prize laureate—M.L.).

Although he was much older than me, we were close. At that time we were working in a closed city and maintained close contacts and, I believe, easily understood one another.

[Question]What kind of life did you have there?

We went to work in the morning and at breakfast, lunch and dinner talked about all kinds of subjects and after the working day I visited Igor Yevgenyevich in his cottage where we had heart-to-heart discussions. This lasted 3 years, after which he was allowed to go back to science. This was proper, for he was best suited for that. I remained behind and very dramatic events in the development of our goods were ahead. I did not go to Moscow frequently but on each such occasion I visited Igor Yevgenyevich and our relationship remained close. Although in the course of time, as I continued to change....

Ye. Bonner: Igor Yevgenyevich was much older and eventually the effect of his age was telling. He was of the generations of the "fathers" in terms of Andrey Dmitriyevich, and like all elders, he could change only up to a point....

A. Sakharov: True. However, he continued to respect me. I believe that he simply loved me.

Ye. Bonner: You know, when Igor Yevgenyevich was awarded the Lomonosov Prize he was already gravely ill, he could no longer move.... However, among the many of his students it was precisely Andrey that he instructed to represent him at the award presentation ceremony....

A. Sakharov: Not because I have a beautiful voice which, precisely, is not beautiful....

Ye. Bonner: And not because Sakharov was a recipient of the Hero Star. No, Igor Yevgenyevich's choice was based on an inner closeness, this could be sensed.

A. Sakharov: I feel it to this day. But shall we return to the motivation? On one occasion I admitted to Igor Yevgenyevich how hard and painful it was for me to be aware of the horrible work we were nonetheless doing. He accepted my words quite responsibly, although he found them unexpected, for we were gripped by the feeling of the scale, the grandiose nature of the project we were dealing with. I recalled Eichman's words on his ecstasy when finding out that it was precisely he, a simple offspring of the German countryside, who would carry out such a major act.... Such a stir and pride in the scale are, clearly, inherent in people, although I hope that the parallel with Eichman is very, very remote....

[Question]And after this conversation with your teacher, you, Andrey Dmitriyevich, began to conceive of your work differently?

[Answer] Rather, I began to conceive of it more comprehensively. The very witnessing of the tests led to this. The impressions from the tests were of a dual nature. On the one hand, let me repeat, there was a sensation of the tremendous scope of the project. On the other, when you see all of this yourself, something in you changes. When you see the burned birds who are writhing on the scorched steppe, when you see how the shock wave blows away buildings like houses of cards, when you feel the reek of splintered bricks, when you sense melted glass, you immediately thinks of times of war.... The very moment of the explosion, the shock wave which moves along the field and which crushes the grass and flings itself at the earth.... All of this triggers an irrational yet very strong emotional impact. How not to start thinking of one's responsibility at this point?

[Question]Previously I imagined this entire horror only speculatively: It is unpleasant to think that somewhere someone may press a button and such an object would drop on one's head from the sky and everything would end.... I can see this now much more tangibly. Yet, there were many people there....

[Answer] In our city, all construction work until 1953 had been done by prisoners. All of us, naturally, realized that a terrible cruelty was being perpetrated, an unfairness to many of them.... It is true that we did not issue orders but we communicated with those who commanded these people. This fact as well had a dual significance, strange though this might seem. On the one hand, if such sacrifices are being made, we should justify them with the results of our work. We could not forget those who were working at the uranium mines, those who, at dawn, were moving under our windows in columns, guarded by shepherds.... On the other hand, one had to think: What are you personally doing, are you not participating in this terrible crime yourself? Therefore, one had to make oneself feel that one's occupation was not criminal.

[Question]Here is what I thought, Andrey Dmitriyevich. Our state became stronger with the bomb. However, it also became stricter toward man.... I do not wish to say that it became more merciless, for it had never been distinguished for its particular mercy. However, the simple people immediately felt on themselves this strictness...

[Answer] This new strictness is not entirely simple. When someone is pushed into a corner and finds himself in a hopeless situation, he becomes the most aggressive and adventuristic. Therefore, to a certain extent the existence of nuclear weapons in the Soviet Union led not to greater strictness but, conversely, to greater tolerance. Remember that after Stalin's death the USSR softened its policies. It was this that was the main factor and whether this would have occurred without the thermo-nuclear weapon is hard to claim. This process was not simple (recall the Cuban crisis). Nonetheless, we do not know the way events would have developed had the Soviet Union not armed itself properly.... I am not

certain that our domestic and foreign policy would have turned out to be any softer on this level. I will even say that I am virtually convinced that no, it would not have. Although we cannot make such experiments with the past: One cannot replay history. However, what is more important is to think of the future, of how our present will develop.

[Question]Are you referring to restructuring?

[Answer] I believe that in the past few years major changes have taken place in our country, described as restructuring. These changes were prepared by the preceding periods, including the views of people who already then claimed that one could no longer develop in the same way, that in many ways the country was in an impasse. Today this is entirely clear to anyone other than the extreme-right leaders who, unfortunately, still have a great deal of power in our country. If we speak of the present, I think that the implementation of the ideas of restructuring means the salvation not only of the land of the soviets but of all mankind.

[Question]However, as the saying goes, it is not all that simple to mature to an understanding of this concept. In our country not everyone has grown up to it and you, personally, had to pay a high price for it.... However, you were able not to give in, and "not to lose face" as a simple person, not as an academician or winner of all conceivable and inconceivable prizes. For it is a simple man, in that case, who remains on a one-to-one situation with the governmental machinery, with its organized apparatus....

[Answer] Let me begin by saying something about myself and my wife. Despite all regalia, a great deal fell on our lot. The regalia rather postponed that which was to fall on us without eliminating it. Furthermore, the following happened: The main blow, the center of pressure was deflected and aimed not only at me but at my wife and, indirectly, at her children. This was a very clever tactic which put me in a very difficult psychological situation and which was extremely different for Yelena Georgiyevna. She had to muster absolutely exceptional willpower. It seems to me that she displayed it and, furthermore, helped me to remain the person I was. Therefore, our situation was rather complex. As far as normal people are concerned, "nonacademicians," we know that their lot is indeed quite difficult. Nonetheless, many of them are holding out and the power of resistance of the individual is inordinately high. The very concept of "normal man" is meaningless. The people have the broadest possible range of features, from infinite baseness to infinite self-sacrifice. We saw this, for even during the darkest of times people are able to preserve their dignity. However, this demands of them sacrifice.

[Question]It would be so desirable for any further preservation of one's dignity not to require paying such heavy dues.

[Answer] A phrase from Brecht's play about Galileo comes to mind now. The student notes the following: "How unhappy must be a country in which there are no heroes." And Galileo replies: "No! Unhappy is the country which needs heroes."

[Question]And our country....

[Answer] Has always needed heroes. However, in addition to heroes it has also needed people who would simply preserve their dignity, who know how to follow a dignified line of behavior at work, and in specifically helping others. Such a stance is almost always possible. Naturally, in our country as well there has quite frequently appeared a situation in which a person had to choose whether to become a hero or a scoundrel?... Nonetheless, we have always found worthy people in our country. I personally have frequently seen this and so has Yelena Georgiyevna as she has described, based on her own practical experience....

Ye. Bonner: I am a pediatrician by profession and have spent many years teaching in medical school. I knew in Moscow a woman, an inspector in the militia's children's room, where the very small children, children who were still nursing, would be brought in. They had either been abandoned or forgotten by their parents. The little ones were frozen and hungry and, sometimes, dying.... This woman was ready to give her entire heart to these children. One could have become callous in such work yet she never stopped giving of her soul. She was not a hero but simply a person working with dignity.

[Question]But where does one find the strength to preserve this dignity?

A. Sakharov: Within oneself.

Ye. Bonner: Within oneself. However, the family should not be taken out of consideration. Everything that is essential, valuable in life—spiritual and social—everything starts in the family.

A. Sakharov: Hence, incidentally, the conservative nature of the moral type of society: It is slow in changing. I would put it even more sharply: It changes for the better slowly. It could change quite quickly for the worse. This trend toward the worse is difficult to surmount. When our youngest fellow citizens are directed toward a career at any cost, so to say, this in itself is an alarm signal. It is an alarm siren! That is why readiness to pay any price means, actually, profound indifference, indifference toward others, toward anyone other than oneself. This trend, unfortunately, is quite widespread in our country and it can be eliminated only slowly. The main danger is that it may not be eliminated at all.

[Question]In that case what, from your viewpoint, is the strongest corrupting factor? For today we are speaking a great deal, achingly, about moral corruption in society....

[Answer] The most dangerous thing to the young is lies, social hypocrisy. When everyone lies—social and youth leaders and parents.... This was a factor which operated for a long time in our country, for which reason one could say that to a certain extent the society is sick, it has been poisoned with lies.

Ye. Bonner: I may be wrong, but it seems to me that most young people in our country today are internally rejecting lies and turning away from adult society. They reject it on both the social and family levels.... However, this is not to say that such boys are bad. I believe that if society were to change for the better, they too would change.

[Question]Do you have anything to substantiate these hopes, Yelena Georgiyevna?

Ye. Bonner: I have extensive experience in work with adolescents. In our medical school most students were girls from low-income families, minors.... At first it is not all that easy to speak with them about lofty things, about spiritual values. Nonetheless.... If one tries to teach them to love something, it is out of this "I love something" that a human being develops.... In the school, we taught the children poetry, and music or, in a word, everything all at once. Essentially, these were students who were scheduled to be expelled for a variety of reasons. They smoked in the lavatory and drank under the staircase. We had to work a great deal before becoming the best collective for amateur artistic activities in the medical-hygiene labor system of Moscow Oblast. We traveled around the country giving big shows and even staged Shvarts' "King Without Clothes." We learned how to communicate with one another about everything and were no longer indifferent toward one another or toward anything which was happening around us. Such relations will remain with them a lifetime. However, I was not afraid to invite them in my own home or take them to the homes of our friends.... In short, it is always important to have at least one adult who would identify what is bright in the child, something one could hold onto. What specifically is not important, whether it is passion for rock or abstract art. It is equally unimportant whether you personally like rock music or prefer "Francesca di Rimini."... We have quite a lot of people who are not indifferent and who can understand the young.

[Question]Therefore, you do not fear today's youth?

A. Sakharov: Today's youth, no. I am horrified by the generation which preceded it, the generation in its 30s. That generation saw but did not reject the lie and accepted the falsehood.... It is exceptionally important for hypocrisy no longer to triumph in our country. This would be a catastrophe, a psychological tragedy from which it would be extremely difficult to come out.... Today, however, many people can be found who care for honesty.

Ye. Bonner: Andrey Dmitriyevich and I have attended several meetings or gatherings on Pushkin Square in Moscow. There everything is done by young people and those attending were also young, with long hair and unbelievable T-shirts....

A. Sakharov: I even noticed some young men wearing earrings.... All of this, however, is tawdry....

Ye. Bonner: There were good boys! Remember Drunina's verses: "We too passed for twits once but then the time came and we became soldiers?" In my view, these boys are entirely ready to become the soldiers of restructuring, of the new life. Like the young from the Leningrad charitable society, like the Estonian "Greens"....

A. Sakharov: This creates a feeling of hope which is all the more necessary because there is in society another sensation, one of instability. So far, reality has changed little. This means that the old machinery which, for long decades, was in power, is frustrating changes and not surrendering its power. Furthermore, it is trying to mount a counterattack. Is an unreasonable tax on the earnings of members of cooperatives, which literally removes the ground from under their feet not a counter-attack? Some of it has been revised but only partially.... The state order is strangling the state enterprise. This is another form of counterattack.... I fear greatly that the party conference was attended by all too many people who were opposed to glasnost, to whom it goes against the grain. This too is entirely reactionary. That is why I keep having this sense of insecurity as far as the planned changes are concerned; I still fear that there will be some compromises which will prove to be fatal to restructuring. In this sense the Karabakh drama is no exception. There the resolutions of the oblast soviet proved to be insubstantial and the subsequent discussion of that question at the meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium disappointed me profoundly.

[Question]Obviously, in this case the practical implementation of the principle of federalism could have helped?

[Answer] Only federalism! The true union among republics, big and small, but equal. It is only then that what is behind the facade of big words about friendship among the peoples will have a real meaning, will be real and democratic. As to solving the Karabakh problem, let us recall the familiar Marxist stipulation according to which one nation which keeps another nation in a state of subordination can itself not remain free. We see today two potentially progressive detachments of restructuring—Armenia and Estonia—and that which is happening in Estonia, I think, is in the interest of the entire country and not only that republic alone, although here as well things must be strictly weighed and considered....

[Question]Sakharov's prestige is probably a substantial argument in favor of this approach. However, forgive the next question if it seems tactless to you. Sakharov the

"academician" is not only a person but, in our social consciousness, he is also a concept. How do you feel about it yourself? Is it easy for you to be "ACADEMICIAN SAKHAROV?"

[Answer] Is it easy for me to be a concept? Naturally, this is an internally false concept. Pasternak said that "to be famous is ugly." He was right, it is indeed quite ugly. I am doing everything possible to remove from myself the psychological poison related to it. I do not know whether I shall be able to accomplish this. In all likelihood I shall, partially, for I do have certain immunity.

[Question] Your fame, and the "curses," which were spewed out by the mouthpieces of the recent semi-official authorities, how did you withstand both?

[Answer] The "curses" fell mostly on my wife. It was she who experienced the monstrous load of dirt and lies....

Ye. Bonner: Well, this gave me a new opportunity to be proud of my husband: He was able to slap in the face the offender (this gesture, which has become nearly forgotten in our unchivalrous times, was preceded by floods of disgusting insinuations toward Yelena Georgiyevna. When one of the authors of these base fabrications impudently showed up in the premises where the people he had insulted lived, Andrey Dmitriyevich demanded that he apologize to Ye.G. Bonner. The uninvited guest was amazed at the need to apologize for past "trifles," at which point her husband slapped him in the face—M.L.).

A. Sakharov: I too am very proud of this slap in the face. Although someone close to us did not approve of it, believing that one should have acted with words. I am confident, however, that in that case words would have been to no avail.

[Question] Dignity must be defended but how difficult it is sometimes to defend it.... There are Pushkin's bitter words: "The devil shrewdly made me to be born in Russia with a soul and talent!" To you, Andrey Dmitriyevich, does this thought seem groundless today? What if we were to project it to your own destiny....

[Answer] I somehow cannot imagine such a mental experiment as my being born in another country and another time. When I read the "Time Machine," I feel great pity for a person who finds himself in an alien world and in an alien time. This could no longer be called life.... As to moving to another country, this too would be moving to another time, forward or backward, depending on the country in which I find myself, whether in the United States or Ethiopia....

[Question] Therefore, although it has been repeatedly suggested to you (to trust various "voices") you have never hesitated with your answer?

No one has ever offered me this, although the "voices" have mentioned it. Actually, I have never had to face such a problem.

Ye. Bonner: Andrey Dmitriyevich has never been abroad in his life alone and I do not know whether he would ever be allowed to look at the world. But I can add to Andrey Dmitriyevich's answer as though looking from the side (if a wife can look at her husband from the side): He is quite cosmopolitan, in the good, in the loftiest sense of this word.

A. Sakharov: Pushkin as well was cosmopolitan. I think, however, that his bitter words should not be overestimated: He could not conceive of himself outside Russia and, at that time, outside the Russia of the language which he himself shaped. To go back to your question, I believe that Pushkin wrote this phrase emotionally, for essentially he felt himself to be in his proper place, in his historical place, which was organic to him. As to myself, I can say the same. Understandably, I do not compare myself to Aleksandr Sergeyevich, this would be unseemly. However, a certain analogy does exist. I fit where I was born.

[Question] Erenburg states this in stricter terms: "Like a mother, a homeland is not chosen and one does not reject it like an inconvenient apartment." Do you agree with this?

[Answer] There are many facets to such things. When Pushkin thought that "the devil had the shrewdly....," he may have been entirely sincere. However, I now recall a sentence which was written by the Yugoslav journalist Mikhaylov: "Homeland is not a geographic concept. Homeland means freedom." I learned this during our hunger strike before the departure of my daughter-in-law and later wrote it to her in the parting telegram, when she was forced to leave.... The thought that "I fit where I was born" is accurate but somewhat jingoist and should not be absolutized, like the facet which Mikhaylov has expressed so sharply. Both are true. In this case one must not be dogmatic: Both sides could be morally justified.

Ye. Bonner: Today there is a great deal of discussion about migrations. But then everything has already been said in the "Universal Declaration..." and the "Pact on Rights," which asserts the freedom of choosing one's country and place of residence....

A. Sakharov: That right is on the same level as the right to the freedom of convictions, as one of the most important and inalienable human rights. Without it, how can one feel free?

We held this discussion on the balcony of the hotel where Bonner and Sakharov stayed during the Pugwash Conference. These two already elderly people, who have truly

developed through bitter experience "the precise knowledge about evil and good" discuss life. Were their own lives not spent in repelling the evil? I once again recall Okudzhava's lines:

*All those unyielding strings,
and with every passing minute it becomes more
difficult
to see in the smile of fortune
one's hope smile.*

These are sad lines. But it is not for nothing that they are known as "living, arise...." Well, we shall rise. It is time.

Dagomys-Tallinn.

Second Day of Lithuanian Congress Reported

LD0311164688 [Editorial report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0708 GMT on 23 October carries a live relay on the 2d day of the constituent congress of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring [LMR], held in the Vilnius Sports Palace.

The session is opened by Professor Meile Jukniene, who speaks on educational reform, raising children, and forming national awareness and morality in young people. After her speech an announcement is made concerning the celebration of the anniversary of the death of Vytautas the Great, grand duke of the Great Duchy of Lithuania, to be held in Trakai Church on 27 October.

Algirdas Ptackas then takes the floor, and speaks on issues related to ethics and the spiritual existence of Lithuania today. He expresses concern about those who are taking an active part in the LMR not becoming corrupt, as happened to many people in the republic who were given well-paid posts and asked to forget their ideals. He goes on to say: "The struggle for freedom may turn into a struggle for power." He ends by saying: "The unique moral laws of ancient Baltic culture and the historically inherited high values of Christianity should be our mainstay."

Professor Vaidotas Antanaitis is then invited to take the floor. He deals mainly with the new group recently formed in Kedainiai, the "Greens" of Lithuania. He notes it follows a similar path in their activities as Greens in other countries in the West. He maintains that the pollution of the environment in Lithuania has reached such proportions that it is on the brink of a catastrophe, and proceeds to describe how people's health has become affected as a result of this. Greens representatives expressed their dissatisfaction with the policies of the republican authorities concerning ecology, and then gave a vote of no confidence to the management of the State Committee for Protection of Nature, and to many organizations which pollute the environment. They then name seven people who, according to them, committed major crimes against the environment

of Lithuania. Supporting the demand made by Lithuanian farmers, the greens demand that Gennadiy Konoplev, first deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, be sacked for his dishonest activities. This was greeted by applause. A vote of no confidence in V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, was collectively expressed by the Greens, the Council of the Kaunas LMR group, and the Lithuanian "Exile" club. This was greeted by applause.

Kazimieras Motieka then speaks, making several proposals concerning amendments concerning membership to be included in the draft LMR Constitution.

After discussion, LMR was defined as: "A movement which united supporters of restructuring regardless of their religion, nationality, party membership, profession, or other differences: it rallies their knowledge, skills and efforts." The issue of distinguishing the roles of "supporters" and "participants" of the movement were discussed, and it was decided that all LMR leading organs should be elected. A vote was taken to adopt the LMR Constitution. Six delegates voted against. The constitution was declared adopted, and Kazimieras Motieka declared: "From this minute we have become a legal body with full rights." This was greeted with prolonged applause.

The next speaker, (Rimvydas Rimkus) spoke about elections to the LMR Assembly [Seimas], and about the Council of the Assembly.

Zigmus Markievich, a representative of the Polish minority living in Lithuania, an LMR supporter, passes on greetings from Polish people living in Lithuania. He says: "We have a common history...Lithuania is our common motherland." His remarks are greeted by stormy applause. He concludes his speech by saying: "Your freedom and welfare is a guarantee of our freedom and welfare."

Academician Raimundas Rajeckas is invited to take the floor. He begins his speech by expressing his gratitude to the weekly GIMTASIS KRASTAS for rendering great help and support to LMR. He says that this support was given at a time "when the rest of the republican media was chained by the spirit of stagnation." He goes on to attack the press, saying that it holds on to the principles of stagnation, and censorship, which makes a secret of anything the censor chooses, who then changes his mind after receiving a bribe. This was greeted by applause. In conclusion, he proposes carrying out restructuring of the government apparatus and demoting those whose work is inadequate.

Gediminas Karalius, an artist, is invited to take the floor. After proposing changes in art teaching at art schools and at the Vilnius Art Institute, he says that the time has come to build monuments to the prominent

people of Lithuania—writers, historians, workers of culture. He says: "This is our debt to our history and our culture." He then reads from a letter of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee on the construction of monuments and busts in the cities of the republic during the 12th 5-Year Plan. He reads the following passage in Russian: "At present, work is being carried out on the creation of a monument and busts of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, to be erected in the cities of Alytus, Birstonas, Kapsukas, Taurage, Jurbarkas, Sakiai, Salcininkai [shouts of disapproval], and also monuments to the participants of the revolutionary movement—to Vareikis in Kaunas Rayon, to Giedrys in Telsiai, and to Ruokys in Telsiai." He mentions that a monument to friendship among nations would be erected in Klaipeda, a monument to V. Lenin erected in Elektrenai, a monument to Feliks Dzerzhinsky would be erected in Vilnius, according to the Central Committee plans. This was met with shouts of disapproval. The speaker goes on to say that the inhabitants of Kapsukas city wish to have a monument to J. Jablonskis erected. He says in conclusion: "The presidium of the Lithuanian Artists' Union proposes to the Lithuanian authorities that they should not erect any more monuments to V. Lenin in the near future, while erecting yet another monument to F. Dzerzhinsky in Vilnius is absurd."

Vytautas Petkevicius then reads the list of 170 candidates to the LMR Assembly. "Initiative group" members were also included in the list. All those in the list were elected as candidates to the assembly.

Valerijonas Kubilius, secretary of the Kretinga Raykom committee, is invited to take the floor. He expresses disappointment that many speakers at the conference accuse all party officials of ignoring people's needs. He goes on to say that farmers support the idea of financial autonomy and economic sovereignty of Lithuania.

Kubilius then answers questions concerning a meeting which was banned by local authorities, yet was illegally held despite the ban. He denies reports that participants of the meeting were driven away by the militia. Shouts of protest are heard from the audience. He maintains that LMR did not organize a meeting on 23 September in Kretinga. In response to audience request Rimas Jacinevicius, a member of the LMR Kretinga Group, takes the floor. He says: "No, Comrade Kubilius, you maintain that LMR is a temporary fashion. Leaders are temporary, LMR is eternal." This is greeted with shouts and applause.

An unidentified official then reads an announcement concerning elections to the assembly and to the vote counting commission. A list of names is read of people to be included in ballot papers for election to the assembly.

A 20-minute recess is announced. The official says that elections will take place after the recess.

At 0945 GMT, the live relay resumes, with Ceslovas Kudaba, geographer and professor at Vilnius University, taking the floor. He speaks about on the issue of the "culture fund," which he initiated, and also about various new clubs and societies formed in the past few months. He says that the Lithuanian Culture Fund supports national minorities in reviving their national heritage. He notes that this work is not easy; as an illustration to this he recalls how the party secretary of the Trakai Raykom was reprimanded and threatened with being sacked for allowing representatives of the ancient minority, the Karaims, who came to Lithuania in the 14th century, to hold a meeting on the Party Committee premises, in the house built by the Karaims. Kudaba goes on to speak about problems concerning Lithuanian geography as a science. He goes on to say that cartographical work is difficult because of secrecy, and that a decent map of Lithuania could not be charted. In conclusion he urges that problems related to subscriptions to emigree press should be solved because newspapers from abroad do not always reach people in Lithuania. His address is greeted with applause.

Professor C. Kudaba then speaks about the Lithuanian language, saying it is the most valuable treasure of the nation. He regrets that the number of schools where the Lithuanian language is the language of instruction has decreased in the Vilnius area during the pastwar period.

Emanuelis Zingeris, head of the Jewish sector of the Lithuanian Culture Fund is invited to take the floor. He devotes his speech mainly to the problems of the Lithuanian Jews living in Lithuania. He says: "If Lithuanians win back their history, so will the Jews; if Lithuanians win back the Bible, ancient wisdom will be given back to the Jews; if the hand of the censor is removed from a Lithuanian textbook, it will not distort the historical memory of the Karaims, the Jews, and the Belorussians." Describing the position of Jews in independent Lithuania, E. Zingeris says that Jews are Jews, like Lithuanians are Lithuanians, and that Jews in Lithuania preserve their national identity. He recalls how the 1941 Stalinist deportations affected Lithuanian Jews.

Concluding his speech, E. Zingeris asks Lithuanians to support the Lithuanian Jews in their efforts to win back their national awareness, religion, and language. This is greeted with applause.

At 0950 GMT reception becomes worthless. At 1200 GMT reception improves. An unidentified correspondent reports on a sacred mass being held in Gediminas Square. This is followed by a concert, which lasts until 1330 GMT, at which time the live relay resumes.

An unidentified delegate from Kaunas wishing to speak on behalf of the Kaunas delegation, says that before leaving for the conference, the Kaunas LMR group had unanimously adopted a resolution which included some amendments to the LMR program. He reads the adopted resolution and the amendments for the programme, and

proposes that they be included in the program. He says that the LMR declares the incorporation of the Lithuanian republic in 1940 was a consequence of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which was implemented by violating the Lithuanian and Soviet Russia and the Lithuanian and USSR treaties. The independence of Lithuania was abrogated by this act of incorporation. In conclusion he says that the main objective of the LMR is "the restoration of Lithuania's independence through constitutional means." This is greeted by applause.

He continues by saying that we all have to learn to live in a democratic society, which means that if a young man gives his own interpretation of the resolution adopted by the Kaunas LMR group, it does not mean that he should be attacked and his speech labeled as a provocation: His speech was simply his own opinion on the issue of Lithuanian sovereignty. His remarks are greeted by applause. He goes on to say: "Rolandas Paulauskas is a hot-headed man, but even so, even if he proposed that Lithuania should secede from the Soviet Union right now, he would not have committed an unconstitutional act." This also is greeted with applause. In conclusion, he says: "The USSR Constitution envisages such a case. However, we hold a realistic point of view; therefore, today neither Kaunas nor Vilnius put forward ideas of this kind."

The platform is taken by Vytautas Petkevicius, who says he wants to explain his position on the issue and why he labeled Rolandas Paulauskas' speech a "provocation."

He says he supports what Vaidotas Antanaitis said but he cannot agree with Rolandas Paulauskas that LMR is the same LMR of 1940, and therefore LMR will lead Lithuania to the same place as the 1940 LMR did. This is greeted with applause.

V. Petkevicius says that claiming LMR is a group of "people paid to flirt with the government" is a provocation.

It is then announced that Vytautas Tomkus, a journalist, and Julius Juzeliunas will preside over the seventh session of the conference.

Vytautas Tomkus then says: "After listening to the speech made by our new first secretary yesterday and witnessing this great resolution by which our sacred cathedral was returned to believers, I decided that I would not read my entire speech but leave it for worse times to come." This is greeted by applause. Tomkus then reads only the end of his speech, which is addressed to Algirdas Brazauskas.

Jonas Juravicius, chairman of the Alytus Rayon Saule collective farm, speaks next. His speech is devoted to the hard life in rural areas today: there are many bosses and instructors but only a handful of those who are actually working in the fields.

Concluding, he reads a resolution adopted by LMR supporters in Alytus Rayon. Farmers of the rayon demand that Konoplev, first deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Agro-Industrial Complex, be released from his post because of his incompetence. This is greeted by applause.

Liudas Dovydenas, a writer from the United States, is invited to take the floor. Several announcements are read while waiting for the speaker to appear. Dovydenas does not appear, Algirdas Kauspedas, an architect, is invited to take the floor instead.

He concentrates on problems in housing construction and architecture in general.

He says that the state alone could not and would not be able to solve the housing problem, therefore, new policy on housing and apartment distribution is necessary and urgent.

Composer Osvaldas Balakauskas is invited to take the floor. Speaking on the degradation of socialist ideals, he says: "But whatever our actions and wishes, we always have to look back at the huge wooden or stone pillar called 'socialism' to see if some of our wishes or actions are struck down by lightning from the pillar." He adds: "We do not have civic rights, social equality; we do not have adequate living standards, but we do have socialism instead." This was greeted by applause. He goes on to mention "horrors of socialism," such as the gulag, psychiatric hospitals, Soviet tanks in socialist states. Balakauskas says: "You arrive at a very strange conclusion: It was probably the Soviet power and the Communist Party itself which committed the most serious crimes against socialism and its prestige." This is greeted by applause. He says: "The Communist Party must learn how to wage an honest ideological struggle, not by shutting the mouths of its opponents and shutting the ears of the nation. Take the radio, this miracle of the 20th century. How can jamming of radio broadcasts be justified?" This is greeted by prolonged applause and chanting.

Concluding, he says that "the state must have a law which says that ideological opponents are not the enemies of the people. They are citizens who have equal rights, who have the right to have their own ideas on ideology and political structure. They have the right to express it legally and to defend it." The audience responds with applause.

Balakauskas concludes by demanding that "equal rights should be restored to the clergy in our society." Loud applause follows this statement.

Poet Sigitas Geda is invited to take the floor. His speech concentrates on the necessity of beginning a sincere dialogue with Lithuanian emigrants because they are a significant part of the Lithuanian nation, both in terms of numbers and in terms of cultural and national traditions.

Philosopher Jokubas Minkevicius is invited to take the floor. He speaks about the burden and the responsibility which LMR will have to cope with, because achieving objectives will not be easy. On political wisdom and a proper code of behavior in political activities he says: "A stick cannot be a tool in politics."

It is announced that Petras Cidzikas [FC member of the "Free Political Prisoners" committee who is currently on a hunger strike in an attempt to speed the release of all Lithuanian political prisoners] is asking for 1 minute to convey his message. He says: "I am a member of the Free Political Prisoners Committee. I want to express my gratitude for the hearty wishes and help in promoting the cases of political prisoners. Thank you for your moral support here in this hall and in the cathedral square. I would like to ask you now: Do you want Balys Gajauskas, Viktoras Petkus, Gintautas Iesmantas, Father Sigitas Tamkevicius, Valdermaras Karaliunas, and Boleslovas Lyzunas to be set free? I ask you now." The crowd responds with a storm of applause and shouts of: "Yes, we do!"

Cidzikas continues: "We also want all our demands to be published in all the newspapers and publicized on TV and radio. We should not be deceived like the last time when we had to wait for a month." The audience responds with prolonged applause.

The announcer then states that the results of the elections for the 220-seat assembly are in but he does not name the persons elected.

Kornijenko, first secretary of the Sirvintai Raykom, is invited to speak.

He speaks about preconditions for LMR to emerge and how party workers support the movement. He says that at present "we do not as yet feel any changes taking place in the republic administration; we do not feel that we are the complete masters of the rayon we live in."

As for the Lithuanian language being made the state language in the republic, he says: "As a Russian myself, I want to reassure those people who think that this will lead to discrimination against non-Lithuanians." He adds: "If we live and work in the republic we must learn to speak Lithuanian."

Following this, Arvydas Juozaitis reads a letter from ELTA [press agency of the Lithuanian SSR]: "ELTA, the LITHUANIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY, is asking for help. It is necessary to express concern about ELTA's destiny. ELTA was set up in 1920, and for 20 years it had direct links with foreign countries and had its own foreign correspondents." He adds: "Quite often now, a Central Committee department decides exactly what ELTA has to write about on this or that issue." The letter concludes: "Lithuania, as a sovereign republic, also needs an autonomous telegraph agency." This is greeted with applause.

It is announced that Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, will take the floor. This is greeted with prolonged applause.

Following the speech by A. Brazauskas, the announcer informs listeners that voting and other formal procedures connected with adopting the program and resolutions will take place. Listeners are invited to tune in later for the closing of the congress. The live relay then ends at 2215 GMT.

Lithuanian Restructuring Movement Draft Program
WA18000119 Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 88 pp 1-2

[Program of demands of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement]

[Text]

I. General Principles

1. The Lithuanian Restructuring Movement (hereinafter called "the Movement") is an independent citizens' movement which supports and deepens the restructuring of socialist society on a democratic and humanitarian basis initiated under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Movement was born as a citizens' initiative expressing moral and national rebirth of the society.

2. The goal the Movement sets for itself is to eliminate the consequences of Stalinism and the period of stagnation, to implement glasnost and democracy, to establish social justice and constitutional guarantees and to achieve balanced development of the economy. With this purpose the Movement encourages civic consciousness and activity in every way possible, and organizes the necessary civic actions.

The main goal of the Movement is glasnost, democracy, restoration of the Lithuanian SSR's political, economic and cultural sovereignty, and creation of a legal socialist state in which the will of the people would be really represented at all levels of legislative, executive and judicial power.

The soviets must become competent and absolute organs of a government of the will of the people. Only the Lithuanian SSR's laws should be applicable within the Lithuanian SSR.

3. The Movement unites and coordinates independent forces of the society supporting the course toward restructuring and renewal and condemning the practices of Stalinism and stagnation. Any citizen may participate in the Movement irrespective of occupation, party membership, religious affiliation and nationality.

4. The Movement does not depend on any government organs. The Movement maintains a dialogue with the republic's leadership in solving the most important problems of restructuring, and it performs the function of public control of power.

5. The Movement sets for itself the goal of reviving a civically conscious and active society, the individual as a morally responsible personality and the citizen as the owner and patriot of his land. Defending equal rights of all peoples residing in the republic, the Movement strives to ensure conditions for the Lithuanian people which would preserve and perpetuate their nation on the land of their forefathers. With this end in mind, the social, political and cultural forms of the nation's life must be restored and expanded on the basis of the sovereignty of a union republic.

II. Society and the State

1. In the process of democratizing society, there is a need to revive the real meaning of the slogan "All Power to the Soviets." This will be accomplished by creating a system of democratic elections.

2. The Movement wages a struggle for the kind of mutual relationships between the state and society in the Lithuanian SSR which would legally guarantee actual equality of all members of the society and organizations, irrespective of differences in philosophy and ideology.

In order to promote democracy and pluralism, the Movement encourages the legal activity of various social and political organizations.

3. Exercising the will of the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR, the Movement fights to ensure state sovereignty of the Lithuanian SSR and all ensuing consequences. The status of the Lithuanian SSR in the Soviet Union must be determined in correspondence with Lenin's principles of federation and of equality of republics with the permanent right of self-determination. The Lithuanian SSR must independently participate in international organizations and maintain diplomatic and consulate ties with foreign countries.

4. The Movement affirms that no political organization has the right to usurp political power in the republic. Legislative, executive and judicial functions of government must be strictly separated. Control over the separation must be maintained by the constitutional court of the Lithuanian SSR.

The Movement proposes draft laws and referendums, participates in election campaigns, monitors election procedures and organizes public actions.

Legislative and government actions must be regulated by the results of referendums viewed as expressions of the will of the electorate.

5. Implementing the principles of glasnost, democracy and sovereignty, the Movement unites all constructive forces of social life in the Lithuanian SSR.

III. Human and Civil Rights

1. The political and legal structure of society must ensure the liberty and civil rights of the personality. This is why the Movement requires that the status of a citizen of the Lithuanian SSR must be based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations, on the Pact on Civil and Political Rights, and the Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (it would also fight for recognition of the facultative protocol of the Pact on Civil and Political Rights). This must be reflected in the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR.

2. The Movement demands constitutional and legal guarantees, the inviolability of the individual and his possessions and home, privacy of correspondence and telephone conversations, and freedom of speech, the press and assembly. Civil rights cannot be restricted due to political beliefs, and any persecution for expression of political views is felt to be illegal and subject to criminal liability.

3. The Movement is convinced that in a legal state, any institution or organization that collects information about a person must allow that person access to this information, and in the necessary cases that person must be able to complain of such actions in accordance with a legally established procedure.

Presumption of innocence must be the guide in judicial practice.

A sentence decided by the court may be served only within the territory of the Lithuanian SSR; during the term of imprisonment or exile, the person retains citizenship in the Lithuanian SSR.

The Movement affirms that no citizen of the Lithuanian SSR may be transported out of Lithuania against his will.

4. The Movement demands reform of the Lithuanian SSR Penal Code with the goal of removing the vestiges of Stalinism from it. Articles 68, 199¹, 143 and 144 must be annulled as having a suppressive action upon the social activity of the people and as violating the principles of democracy. People convicted and serving sentences on the basis of these articles must be released.

5. The Movement demands the right of citizens to appeal the personal and collective actions of officials in a manner foreseen by law.

6. No law may be adopted without public discussion or, in the case of need, referendum.

7. The Movement demands that the crimes of Stalinism against Lithuania and the population of Lithuania be declared crimes against mankind and humanity. The ideologues, organizers and immediate perpetrators of these crimes must be publicly named, and they must be stripped of their social privileges, awards and honorary titles. The names of the victims of illegal repressions must be made public, their memory must be perpetuated, and all who suffered must be compensated for moral and material harm.

All restrictions on the return of persons of Lithuanian origin to Lithuania must be annulled.

Biographical particulars must not be incriminating to the individual.

8. The Movement demands constitutional determination of the status of citizenship in the Lithuanian SSR and the conditions of its acquisition.

The Movement confirms that international ties are a necessary prerequisite of civilized life, and a guarantee of progress.

The Lithuanian SSR's Law on Citizenship must guarantee persons of Lithuanian extraction the right to participate in the social, cultural and economic life of Lithuania.

9. The Movement is convinced that the existing procedure of compulsory military service in the USSR Armed Forces is obsolete and immoral. As a consequence of this, it is the goal of the Movement to revive the traditions of Lithuanian military units and the institution of training a national officer corps. The term of compulsory military service must be reduced. It is the Movement's intention to see that young residents of Lithuania perform their military service in Lithuania.

Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR must be prohibited from participating in those military activities which are condemned by the United Nations.

The Movement believes it possible to introduce labor conscription for those young people who because of their convictions are unable to serve in the army.

The Movement is in favor of demilitarizing social life, of restricting or completely abolishing military training programs in secondary schools and institutions of higher education, and of freeing women from military training. The Movement believes that drafting students into the army is a socially detrimental phenomenon.

IV. Social Justice

1. Introduction of humanitarian principles into society is one of the most important objectives of the Movement.

Lithuanian SSR citizens must be provided with the right and real possibility for free application of their efforts in selected spheres of activity and for acquisition of a just reward for this. Formalistic principles of wage-leveling and socialist competition must be abolished.

2. The Movement will strive to see that the real poverty line of Lithuanian SSR citizens is regularly determined and that price indexes and the inflation dynamics factor are regularly announced. The system of social security, guardianship and charity must be significantly renewed, an inflation-compensating mechanism must be created, and conditions permitting young people and retired and disabled persons to participate in different spheres of activity must be created.

Real conditions must be created for the function of charitable organizations and mutual aid associations formed on social, professional, national and religious foundations, and they must be granted the right to function.

3. The Movement is in favor of expanding the system for securing loans. In particular, when conditions are favorable, loans should be granted to young families and to large families (with three or more children) for housing construction and for household maintenance.

4. The Movement demands implementation of a housing construction policy which would correspond to the cultural and historical traditions of Lithuania, and it supports swift expansion of construction of private homes and regulation of the growth of Lithuania's large cities with regard for humanitarian and ecological criteria. An appropriate program of sociocultural development of each region of the republic is required.

5. The Movement demands that the state preserve the home of the citizen and guarantee his freedom to select his own way of life. When housing owned by a citizen is razed, he should be provided other housing which carries with it the right of ownership and which provides a way of life acceptable to the citizen, or he should be compensated for the actual expenses of restoring it.

6. The Movement will support a family guardianship policy which guarantees that an increase in the number of children in the family will not negatively affect its standard of living and the personal development of children. The functions of raising and caring for children must be legally equated to paid labor. Conditions permitting the rearing of preschool children in the family must be created.

7. The Movement supports the fight against alcoholism, drug addiction and other social vices, and it makes mutual relationships between people a moral responsibility. With this purpose, forms of leisure that develop the nation's physical and spiritual health are encouraged.

8. The Movement is in favor of the need for fundamental change of medical services to the public, and for creation of a modern system of diagnosis, treatment and rehabilitation.

9. The Movement supports independent institutions for the study of public opinion and encourages them to constantly inform the public on the standard of living of different strata of society. The Movement will promote creation of an independent center to study and make forecasts on social problems.

10. The Movement demands abolition of the category of tenured nomenklatura workers and their privileges. Official positions should be distributed on the basis of professional competency and competition.

The Movement asserts that the structure of the trade unions is subject to reform in the direction of independence and true representation of the occupational interests of the citizens.

All social and occupational strata must be recognized to be equal from a social and a political point of view.

V. Nationality

1. The Movement believes national self-consciousness and self-expression to be natural valuables and important factors of the society's renewal.

The Movement believes that the practice of mechanically mixing nations, deportations and national nihilism, and the policy of merging nations, are illegal, and it rejects them. It condemns the crimes and harm done to the people by Stalinist nationality policy, which caused a number of peoples to face ethnic extinction.

2. The Movement supports concrete and clear constitutional and legal guarantees of the equality of nations ensuring sovereignty of the republic, citizenship and the recognition of Lithuanian as a state language. Equal social, economic and cultural rights and liberties for all citizens of the Lithuanian SSR must be recognized on the basis of these guarantees, irrespective of their nationality, language, religion and customs.

3. In regard to restoring democratic society in Lithuania, the Movement sets for itself the goal of ensuring national minorities living in the republic the right to publicly express their national self-consciousness, and it encourages and supports development of their culture and writing in their native language.

The Movement sets for itself the goal of ensuring, for all national minorities living in the Lithuanian SSR, the right to open native language schools and classes with the assistance of state institutions or with public support, to create societies functioning on the basis of independent support, to publicize the values of national culture and to raise the young generation on these values.

4. Concurrently the Movement believes that national equality may be achieved only on the condition that representatives of all nations recognize the right of the Lithuanian people to self-determination, the sovereignty of the Lithuanian SSR and its territorial integrity, that Lithuanian history, culture and language are known, and that they are respected. The right of the Lithuanian people, as with any other community, to concern themselves with their self-preservation, with their own economy, with nature, and with preservation and development of language and culture on territory inherited from their forefathers must be recognized.

5. The Movement is convinced that uncontrollable migration brought about by irrational development of the economy and associated with separation of people from their native land and culture is detrimental to the national interests of the people.

Migration must be controlled in accordance with the Lithuanian SSR Law on Citizenship.

6. The Movement condemns any unlawful acts committed on the basis of nationality, and defamation of national worth, literature and language. If tensions exist in national relations, their historical and social causes must be revealed and publicly condemned, and legal means of eliminating them must be sought. Mutual respect and cooperation of peoples must be nurtured.

7. Celebration of days important to a nation must be legalized.

8. Lithuanian national symbols must be awarded the status of state symbols only following restoration of the Lithuanian SSR's sovereignty.

VI. Culture

1. Culture is the sum total of naturally expressed creative forces of the people. The morality of a nation is the foundation of culture.

The Movement opposes state monopolies in the area of culture, and supports the freedom of cultural creativity and pluralism of creative organizations.

2. The people's culture is an integral whole, it cannot be broken down on the basis of ideological motives, and parts of it cannot be contrasted against others. Developing and gaining an understanding of all facets of culture is a mandatory prerequisite of the nation's historical development and survival.

All of Lithuania's culture, which embraces the creative contribution of all groups that have lived and are now living in Lithuania, must be treasured, and cultural development must be promoted in every possible way.

3. The Movement supports unhindered cultural cooperation with all the world, and broad and unhindered representation of Lithuania in international cultural and sports activities.

4. Language is the greatest cultural treasure house of every nation. The family and school must teach people to use it fluently. Propaganda of Lithuanian language should be encouraged while simultaneously supporting development of the culture of the languages of national minorities.

Lithuanian dialects must be returned to life, newspapers must be published in the dialects of the regions of Lithuania (Zhemaytiyskiy, Aukstaiytiyskiy, Dzukiyskiy [transliterations]), and Lithuanian cultural and scientific terminology must be created.

5. The Movement sets for itself the goal of confirming a national system of education in Lithuania corresponding to the nation's historical and cultural traditions. The main goal of the national school would be to educate the personality, a citizen of Lithuania and a patriot. All subjects must be taught in the context of Lithuanian literature, in an appropriate combination with humanitarian and natural disciplines.

6. The Movement will strive to see that private institutions structured on a diversity of training and educational methods may function in addition to state-run educational institutions for young people. Financial and other assistance must be provided to Lithuanian schools and cultural societies outside of Lithuania.

7. Institutions of higher education and the Academy of Sciences must exercise broad rights of autonomy and self-control, and of free maintenance of ties with foreign universities and scientific centers. Kaunas University imeni Vitautas the Great must be restored. The awarding of academic degrees and titles must be left within the competency of the republic's scientific institutions.

8. A historical memory is necessary to the self-consciousness of any nation; it can help preserve national identity and continuity. This memory is especially important to the Lithuanian people, with their rich and dramatic history, to a people who traditionally take acquire strength of survival from the past. The Lithuanian history course taught in secondary school programs must be transformed.

The Movement will support creation of Lithuanian central archives and return of Lithuania's plundered and squandered heritage; a careful attitude toward historical and cultural monuments; care for cemeteries of all peoples and beliefs, allocation of the necessary funds for protection of monuments, and introduction of criminal liability for destruction of monuments.

The Movement demands the return of all historical, cultural and artistic valuables historically belonging to Lithuania and carried out of Lithuania.

VII. Religion and Society

1. The Movement supports normalization of the position of the church in society, and provision of real rights to the church in the administration of its affairs on the basis of its own internal canons.

2. The Movement favors providing a possibility for restoring and creating religious associations and granting them the status of a legal person.

3. No one has the right to impose upon another person a philosophy alien to him, or compel him to speak and act against his conscience. Antireligious education contrary to the beliefs of believing parents must not be imposed upon the children of such parents.

4. The Movement favors providing believers and atheists identical rights to disseminate their views, and it favors termination of the state's activities in organizing and financing atheistic activity (money earned by believers must not be used for the propaganda of atheism).

5. The Movement supports solution of the problem of the international status of the Lithuanian clerical province.

6. The Movement demands that valuables belonging to the church and illegally confiscated buildings be returned to it.

VIII. The Economy

1. The Movement sets for itself the goal of restructuring the economy of the Lithuanian SSR in a way such that it would serve the people and raise and improve their standard of living.

The individual must become the master of the wealth of his land, he must be given back the right to dispose of products and property independently, he must be relieved of indifference, inactivity and unconscientiousness, and he must be certain that only work and capabilities are the real sources of his income.

2. The Movement demands economic independence for the Lithuanian SSR as a necessary inherent part of sovereignty, and it commits itself to taking part in attaining such independence (by means of radical actions if necessary).

Lithuania participates in the life of the USSR as an integral economic whole, as a totally self-supporting sovereign state. Lithuania's economic mutual relations with the USSR and other equal republics must be exercised on the basis of contracts and equivalent market exchanges.

The republic itself resolves all internal economic issues—prices, pay rates, taxes, wage regulation, finances, money and the loan system. The Movement supports introduction of an independent monetary system in the republic as a means to ensure stability of the economy.

3. The economic system of the Lithuanian SSR rests upon a diversity of forms of ownership—state, cooperative, shareholders', private and mixed. A combination of these forms, which is a guarantee of economical utilization of wealth, transforms the individual into a true master. The right of private ownership extends to the implements of production as well. The right of ownership, its inviolability and its transmission by inheritance are secured in the Constitution and in laws.

The Movement supports only democratic, voluntary forms of combination of enterprises into companies, associations and so on which do not create an administrative bureaucracy.

4. The republic's control organs must reject the methods of bureaucratic leadership of the economy, directive planning of the activity of enterprises and fulfillment of plans as the goal of production. Representing the interests of the citizens, control organs must concern themselves with programs of scientific and technical progress, with analysis of economic status and information, with the policy of subsidies and taxes, and with price control. A state order is possible only in the form of a mutual agreement between the state bureaucracy and the enterprise.

5. Division of the Lithuanian SSR's economy into production sectors and territorial entities must be based on humanitarian principles, with regard for the historical, social, demographic, natural, climatic, ecological and political conditions of the life of the people, and it must develop without infringing on ecological, cultural and national interests.

The Movement supports direct ties with Soviet republics and foreign countries in the matter of developing trade, building joint enterprises and developing tourism and the leisure industry.

6. The Movement actively supports development of the cooperative and private sector of the economy in all economic sectors (except in sectors monopolized by the state). It would be suitable to reorganize, into cooperatives, small and mid-sized enterprises producing consumer goods and providing services, as well as kolchozes, sovkhoses and other organizations operating at a loss.

7. The Movement strives to improve the living and working conditions of the peasantry, to return to it the right of land ownership, and to revive private and cooperative farming. Farmers must be protected against all violence and dictate.

8. The Movement supports economic, administrative and legal measures to regularize the demographic system which support the interests of the local population, and it opposes the tyranny, uncontrollable by local power, of departments and enterprises that invite personnel from other republics, which complicates provision of housing, food, goods and so on.

9. The Movement supports the priority of the consumer over the producer in expanding the market and maintaining competition. The movement studies and seeks economic methods of solving the shortages problem.

The Movement, which opposes all social inequality, struggles with all means available to it against degeneration of labor relations, and defamation and exploitation of the individual.

10. The Movement firmly stands on the position that the new economic policy must serve not an anonymous society but specific people—the population of Lithuania.

IX. Ecology

1. The ecological situation in Lithuania is threatened due to implementation of ecologically unfounded economic conceptions of union departments, irresponsibility of the government of the republic and local departments, and absence of qualified ecological expertise. Economic and administrative methods of solving the problems of ecology and nature protection remain ineffective. In the exercise of its sovereignty, the Lithuanian SSR must create effective economic and administrative methods of exploiting natural resources and managing nature protection.

2. Union departments must pay full compensation for damages inflicted on Lithuanian nature and public health. Constitutional and other legal guarantees must be formed to ensure a healthy living environment for all of Lithuania's population. Lithuania must become a part of Europe's nuclear-free zone (its territory must be demilitarized).

3. The Movement demands that ecologically detrimental industrial and power production facilities not be expanded, and that new ones not be built. Decisions to build facilities that are potentially dangerous from an ecological standpoint must be made in conjunction with public discussion.

Attaining ecologically clean production, introducing low-waste production procedures having low energy requirements, and changing the specialties of production facilities or closing them down are priority tasks.

The most important goal of the Movement is to prepare standard quality parameters for the environment of all of Lithuanian territory, ones corresponding to international standards.

4. The Movement sets for itself the goal of preparing and implementing a strategy of introducing ecologically sound practices into agriculture and other sectors of the republic's economy by reducing the negative consequences of their extensive growth and orienting the economy on producing high quality food products and protecting the environment and nature.

5. The Movement demands creation of a system of ecological research and ecological monitoring in Lithuania outfitted with modern equipment, regular publication of information on the state of nature and the living environment, and refinement and improvement of the republic's nature protection strategy.

6. The Movement demands an increase in criminal liability for destruction of nature. The Editorial Commission for the
Lithuanian Restructuring Program
Vilnius, 8 October 1988

Please submit suggestions to the following address prior to 20 October: Vilnius, Piles, 23/15, ARS-3, p/ya 252. "The Movement's Program."

Lithuanian CC Considers Economic, Social Issues
WA18000100A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA
in Russian 7 Oct 88 p 1

[Text] At its 6 October 1988 conference the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo considered the question of upgrading the economic independence of the Lithuanian SSR and converting its national economy to the principles of territorial cost accounting and self-financing as of 1 July 1989. To this effect, it was resolved to implement respective measures in the areas of management, planning, material and technical procurements, trade, price setting, labor and wages, finances, credit and monetary circulation, and in foreign economic activities. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo instructed the LiSSR Council of Ministers to submit this question to nationwide discussion.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo discussed the question of state, national and regional symbols. It was accepted that the combination of yellow, green and red colors is the color expression of the historically developed Lithuanian national symbols. Said combination of colors may be expressed in flags, pennants, emblems, badges or other ways. Symbolizing the national-historical statehood of the LiSSR, the yellow-green-red flag will fly permanently on the tower of Gediminas Castle, in Vilnius. Other historically accepted Lithuanian national symbols will include a depiction of the Vitis coat of arms, i.e. Pogoni (a knight on a white horse) and the Gediminovichi pillars, and the coats of arms of cities and rayons as approved by the soviets of people's deputies. On various occasions the use and playing of V. Kudirka's "National Song" is admissible.

It was noted that violating the regulations governing the State Flag of the LiSSR is inadmissible in the use of yellow-green-red flags.

The Central Committee Politburo discussed the question of the status of the Lithuanian language as the state language of the republic. It was resolved to support the motion of making changes in the respective article of the LiSSR Constitution at the next session of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo also considered some other problems of socio-political life in the republic.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Issues Social Decrees

Ukase on National Symbols
WA18000100B Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA
in Russian 7 Oct 88 p 1

[Ukase signed by V. Astrauskas, chairman, LiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Y. Guretskas, secretary, LiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Vilnius, 6 October 1988: "Ukase of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on State, National and Regional Symbols"]

[Text] The Presidium of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet notes that the state symbols of the Lithuanian SSR play an important role in the life of the state and society. They embody the lofty ideals of friendship among the peoples and love for the native land.

Interest in national and regional symbols has increased in connection with a recent increase in the social activity of the people. Ancient folk celebrations, Mothers' Day, Yonines (similar to the Ivan Kupala holiday), Memorial Day and other traditions are being revived, reinterpreted through the lens of the ideals of the socialist society. The purposeful and profoundly considered utilization of national symbols enriches cultural life and strengthens the emotional impact of various measures. National and regional symbols are a significant part of the historical-cultural legacy.

At different stages of historical development, the white and red colors were prevalent on the coat of arms and flags of Lithuania, while in folk art, particularly multi-colored woven waistbands (ribbons) and fabrics, various colors, the most popular of which were yellow, green and red, prevailed. These colors also became the base of the Lithuanian SSR state coat of arms. V. Kudirka's "National Song" also played an important historical role among Lithuanian national symbols.

Public organizations, labor collectives and citizens in the republic have submitted a number of suggestions on the more extensive use of national and regional symbols. These problems were considered by the task force on problems of improving constitutional legislation and

upgrading the role of the soviets of people's deputies, set up under the LiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which submitted its conclusions on these matters.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. To acknowledge that the combination of yellow, green and red colors is the color expression of historically established Lithuanian national symbols.

Said combination of colors may be expressed in flags, pennants, emblems, badges and other aspects.

Yellow-green-red flags may be used during activities promoted by youth and sports societies and public organizations, song and dance festivals and other occasions.

Violating the regulations on the State Flag of the Lithuanian SSR is inadmissible in the use of national and regional symbols.

The yellow-green-red flag, which symbolizes the national-historical statehood of the Lithuanian SSR, will fly on a permanent basis on the tower of Gediminas Castle in the city of Vilnius.

2. The historically established Lithuanian national symbols include the depiction of the Vitis coat of arms, i.e. Pogoni (a knight on a white horse), the Gediminovichi pillars and the coat of arms of cities and rayons as approved by the soviets of people's deputies and coordinated with them in accordance with stipulated procedures.

3. The use and performance of V. Kudirka's "National Song," is admissible in various occasions.

4. It would be expedient, in the further study of the suggestions submitted by the public on state symbols, to consider them along with other problems of improving the Lithuanian SSR Constitution.

5. The public organizations and mass information media are called upon to educate the citizens in a spirit of respectful attitude toward state, national and regional symbols and to explain their meaning and content more extensively.

6. The LiSSR Council of Ministers will be instructed to organize the manufacturing of national and regional symbols.

7. The words "as well as on the tower of Gediminas Castle in Vilnius" must be deleted in item 2 of Article 3 of the Regulation on the State Flag of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, as approved by the Ukase of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 29 October 1955 and the 29 April 1981 draft of the Ukase (VED., No 13-137, 1981).

Decree on Lithuanian Language

WA18000100C Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA
in Russian 7 Oct 88 p 1

[Resolution signed by V. Astrauskas, chairman, Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Y. Guretskas, Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary, Vilnius, 6 October 1988: "Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Status of the Lithuanian Language"]

[Text] Many public organizations, labor collectives, scientists and private citizens in the republic, and members of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring [Sajudis] and the Commission on Ideological Work, Culture, Science and Public Education of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, have submitted suggestions on accepting the Lithuanian language as the state language of the Lithuanian SSR.

The Presidium of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet notes that this approach is consistent with the principles of the Leninist national policy and the resolution of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference "On Inter-Nationality Relations," which calls for showing greater concern for the active functioning of national languages in various areas of state, public and cultural life.

During the years of the cult of personality and stagnation, the principles of the free development of languages and harmonious bilingualism were not always observed in the Lithuanian SSR. The functions and use of the Lithuanian language had been narrowed in the areas of state and public life, departmental documentation, science, production and services. Disrespectful attitude toward the language of the local population weakened the ties of friendship among the peoples.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

1. With a view to the natural functioning and development of the Lithuanian language in the areas of state and public life, it must be granted the status of state language of the Lithuanian SSR and specific guarantees must be formulated for its use, without violating in this case the rights of other nations using their own native language.

2. To submit for discussion at the next session of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet the following draft stipulation of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution:

"The Lithuanian language is the state language of the Lithuanian SSR.

"The Lithuanian SSR ensures the use of the Lithuanian language in the activities of state and public authorities, in public education, culture, science, production, other establishments, enterprises and organizations. The state is concerned with the comprehensive development of the Lithuanian language and training in the Lithuanian language. Conditions will be created for the development

of other languages used in the Lithuanian SSR and for mastering the Russian language and its use as a means of international communication among the peoples of the USSR."

Lithuanian Freedom League Demonstration Described
WA18000051A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA
in Russian 1 Oct 88 p 3

[Article published under the rubric "Follow-Up on an Event" by V. Yanov: "Who Gains From This?"]

[Text] ...A large crowd, like an enormous drop of mercury, at one minute spontaneously condensed and then spread out over the entire Gediminas Square drawing the people around it. It would be impossible to look into the heart of each person who came here and it would be impossible to accurately establish who was led to the square by a holiday curiosity and who by an anticipation of "forbidden fruit" and who by the enticing pamphlet of a certain "Lithuanian Freedom League." Human motivation is unfathomable.

However, there were people who knew precisely where they were going and what they were after. It would be difficult to say how many of these there were. But precisely they were responsible for what happened in Vilnius in the evening of 28 September.

On 29 September, at the Lithuanian MVD a press conference was held. Here is what the First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs M. Misyukonis told the journalists.

"The situation which developed in the city center in the evening of 28 September was new not only for those who assembled but also for us, the representatives of the internal affairs bodies. We endeavored to do everything to prevent the meeting, which had not been granted permission by the Vilnius Gorispolkom and the Leninskiy Rayispolkom, and we endeavored to do this ahead of time. Several days prior to the meeting, the Chief of the Vilnius City Internal Affairs Directorate, E. Matuzanis, talked personally with certain members of the so-called 'Lithuanian Freedom League' and warned about possible responsibility to the law for conducting an unauthorized meeting. However, the League members were radically inclined. We were also alerted that someone might endeavor to replace the State Flag on Gediminas Tower, possibly, with the use of weapons.

"However, in order to avoid such consequences, we prohibited the police subunits involved in ensuring order to take their firearms with them. No policeman, and I state this to you with all responsibility, carried a single pistol. But in order to protect themselves from physical violence and provocations, special subunits (30 men) had rubber truncheons as active means of defense. No one gave the order to use the rubber truncheons and in

the given instance instructions were in force. Let me explain: A policeman from the special subunits has the right in the event of a threat to his safety to protect himself with a truncheon.

"Now I would like to go back to the chronology of events. At 1800 hours, we again warned by megaphone A. Terlyatskas, V. Bogushis, A. Andreyku and other organizers of the meeting that it had not been permitted. We also asked the public to disperse.

"However, regardless of this, the meeting was started. As it was viewed by the Soviet bodies as an anti-Soviet and antisocialist action and since it had not been permitted, consequently the representatives of the 'Lithuanian Freedom League' were violating the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet 'On the Procedure for Organizing and Conducting Assemblies, Meetings, Street Marches and Demonstrations in the USSR' adopted on 26 July 1988. That is, in speaking legally, they had violated the law with all the ensuing circumstances. The procurator of the city of Vilnius D. Sodeyka also viewed the meeting as a violation of the law.

"For this reason, we were forced to take measures to restore public order. A police 'wall' began to clear the square. Bottles and rocks were flying from the crowd at the police. As a result, 18 police workers sustained injury. Moreover, 5 official vehicles were damaged.

"Some 25 persons were arrested for violating public order. We immediately released one of them who had been held by mistake. The materials have already been turned over to the court for several persons and the remainder have been warned.

"I cannot say categorically that all the actions by the police were effective and clear, but I would like again to state that they were legitimate and correct.

"A portion of the people driven out of Gediminas Square walked in a column up Lenin Prospect and then came down Pozhely Street and returned along it to Gediminas Square. This occurred around 2000 hours. It was already dark.

"I am frequently asked why the police were not consistent in their actions and did not endeavor to reclear the square?

"In actuality the police were issued orders not to take active measures to avoid unforeseen complications. I would like to repeat that it was already dark and the situation was very tense and unpredictable. It would have required just one spark for everything to burst into flames and lead to severe consequences. In principle, we succeeded in promptly controlling the situation and did not permit any provocations.

"However, the meeting still resumed. In line with this, the materials concerning its organizers will be turned over to the people's court.

"The evening of 28 September was very difficult for the police. And not only because we had to use force in restoring order and not only because there are seriously injured persons on our side. Not only were stones thrown at the policemen but also such insulting shouts as 'Stalinists! Occupiers! Nazis!' It is personally difficult for me to understand this and it is terrible to think that such an attitude can exist toward those defending public order.

"In conclusion I would like to emphasize that the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet 'On the Procedure for Organizing and Conducting Assemblies, Meetings, Street Marches and Demonstrations in the USSR' is a law which no one can violate. It probably could be better and lawyers, we have heard, interpret it differently. But the police must carry it out like other laws regulating law and order. The unswerving observance of the laws is a duty not only for the police but for all the citizens," said M. Misyukonis in conclusion.

As a witness of the events, I would like to draw attention to certain details.

In endeavoring to understand what brought the people to Gediminas Square, why they did not obey the advice and arguments of the police and why they did not disperse, I asked this question of men, women and juveniles.

I will say frankly that far from all of them replied to me. Not many wanted to speak with a correspondent. Some said that if the day before an official announcement of the Gorispolkom had appeared in the press that the meeting of the "Lithuanian Freedom League" had not been permitted they simply would not have come. It was too late to announce this to the people who had assembled.

A majority of those with whom I spoke considered the above-mentioned Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet as unjust and do not want to obey it, although it is a law. To the question "are you in agreement with the draft program of the 'Lithuanian Freedom League'?" the answer of a young man was: "No, I do not agree. But I am in favor of complete freedom of speech, without any restrictions, I favor that each man can freely voice his opinion about everything that is concerning him. If you do not agree then argue, convince me, but don't prohibit me from speaking. It might be said that here I am acting out of principle, I am protesting against the fact that people are forbidden to speak and must keep quiet during glasnost. Glasnost and a ban are incompatible."

I dare say that there were still more people with such convictions on Gediminas Square than those who completely support the ideas of the "Lithuanian Freedom League." It is merely a pity that neither group wanted to realize that the law is a law and no one has the right to violate it. The meeting certainly, let me recall, was organized not in the defense of freedom of speech but rather to propagandize completely different ideas, ideas not compatible with the principles of socialism. And precisely considering this, the local authorities did not permit the meeting to be held.

It must be pointed out that even in the excited crowd at crucial moments there were sober heads capable of restraining it from rash steps. When bottles were flying from somewhere behind toward the police shields, a man of about 40 turned to the crowd saying: "People, come to your senses, what are you doing?" Later on, late in the evening, after the resumption of the meeting, when a group of juveniles began chanting "Flag to the tower!" the older people said "Not necessary." They did not say it so loud but rather firmly. And the extremist appeal of the juveniles was drowned in the silence of the crowd. The speakers also did not support it, but, unfortunately, they did not explicitly come out against this....

All these events involved very many juveniles, persons who are not yet developed and are easily swayed by foreign influence. During the meeting the speakers appealed precisely to them and not innocently so. The slogans pronounced over the megaphone, alas, were quickly picked up by this easily swayed, excited group. "Letuva be rusu!" (Lithuania without Russians), "Nazis! Occupiers! Stalinists!" And I must admit that it was unpleasant for me, a non-Lithuanian, in this crowd. It frightening to say something in Russian.... The same juveniles were in the front ranks, halting transport on the streets and provoking the police workers standing off to the side. One of the fellows, for example, caught up with a trolley bus which had not halted immediately, and pulled the connector from the wire to the egging-on and approving shouts of others. And these fellows were completely uncaring whether someone would be late to the station, an aircraft would take off without someone, or possibly an ambulance would not be able to get through the crowd to reach someone.

There remains a last question, the most difficult. Who has benefited from what happened on 28 September on Gediminas Square? Let us give some thought together as to who would gain?

Personally, I do not know. I merely know that it is not those who sincerely wish well for Lithuania and the Lithuanians.

Latvian Editors Challenge Cuts in Distribution

WA18000108 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH

in Russian 7 Oct 88 p 2

[Open letter to Latvian SSR Minister of Communications Comrade O. K. Stungrevits from DAUGAVA editor-in-chief V. Dozortsev]

[Text] Dear Osvald Karlovich!

Numerous letters and phone calls from our readers in different regions of the country have revealed an extraordinary situation: Subscriptions to the journal DAUGAVA have been cancelled everywhere outside of Latvia as of 22 September of this year. Consultation with the director of the Latvian SSR Main Administration for the Distribution of Publications confirmed this information. Responding to our queries, moreover, Comrade Zvanitays, the republic's Soyuzpechat director, reported that the limit on subscriptions was imposed by Latvia itself, and namely you, dear minister, inasmuch as this was done as per your written order. Moreover not only DAUGAVA but a large number of the republic's other popular publications were cut off. Let me cite your order verbatim: "Cancel subscriptions to the following publications of the Latvian SSR as of 22 September of this year: LITERATURA UN MAKSLA, SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, RODNIK, GORIZONT, DAUGAVA, LNESMA, MAKSLA, PADOMYU LATVIJAS SNEVNETE. Latvian SSR Minister of Communications Stungrevits."

Your subordinates are now attempting to explain to us that this was done due to a shortage of paper and in the interests of the republic, that subscriptions are not limited on Latvian territory, and that there is a purpose to this—to increase newsstand sales. Let's look at what sort of interests these are, using the journal DAUGAVA as an example.

The journal gets its subscriptions chiefly outside of Latvia, which the Writers' Union, of which we are an organ, views as a natural and positive phenomenon, if we consider the main objective of the republic's sole Russian-language literary and sociopolitical journal—publishing the region's literature and the region's sociopolitical processes among Russian readers, and explaining these processes to them; it is also a normal and positive phenomenon if we are interested in what people in neighboring regions think about us and what they know about us. The present share of copies sold in Latvia has never exceeded 12-14 percent of total subscriptions, plus 25-27 percent distributed through general retail trade. This always seemed to be enough. What does concern for the republic mean in this light? What are we talking about? About compelling Latvian residents to subscribe and buy even more? How? In what way?

As of the beginning of the year there were 28,000 subscribers to DAUGAVA. Subscriptions grew swiftly in the course of the spring and summer. Now they are

fluctuating in the neighborhood of 38,000 (plus 10,000 sold through newsstands). Foreseeing growth in publication volume in the future as well, in lengthy negotiations with the Publishing House of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and Central Committee departments we agreed to limit the publication volume to 47,000 until the end of the year, and to limit it to 55,000 in the following year. The planning estimate for 1989, which is lying here on my desk and which was approved by all departments of the publishing house (including the director), and which was coordinated with the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, is based on a volume of 55,000. Now we are instructed to return to the volume of January 1988—to 35,000. Tell me, dear minister, who is going to get the paper originally reserved for the cancelled 20,000 copies of our production volume? Who needs it more than we? And consider this: Who will cover the loss which we will now cause the state, after just barely beginning to show a profit?

Finally, why was this operation carried out in the way things were done in the best years of stagnation—privately, without the consent of the journal and even of the Central Committee department (Comrade I. Yu. Skuinys, a worker of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee department, assured us that he was not consulted before your order was disseminated throughout the country)? Had your subordinates talked with us first, we would have given you some information that you apparently lack: We began publishing a serialized version of "The Steep Route," a chronicle of the times of the cult of personality, in the second half of this year. It is to continue into next year, until July inclusively! What are readers who have received the first half of the story and who will not receive the second half to do? Let's just think for a minute about the kind of letters they will flood the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee with. What will we say to explain to thousands of people why the truth was taken away from them?

As far as the interests of retail trade are concerned, even if you are suggesting that part of the publication volume of DAUGAVA should be distributed more intensively throughout the country not in the form of subscriptions but by newsstands (which is absolutely doubtful and uncontrollable), then tell me how are you going to determine how many copies of a Latvian-language publication (for example LITERATURA UN MAKSLA) should be sent to Russia or Kirghizia for sale? And in general, how are you going to determine where to send them? Is this really the right approach? We came up with the idea of subscriptions in the first place so that the reader would seek the publications he wants, rather than having the communications minister seek readers!

Dear Osvald Karlovich!

On receiving fuller explanations from your subordinates (your secretary would not allow us to speak with you, declaring that you refused to deal with the problems of

limiting subscriptions, referring everyone to Zvanitays) we found that the essence lies in this instance not in the motives and interests referred to by Zvanitays, but rather in the fact that your order was possibly the consequence of an order from the union minister. If this is so, then I feel certain that this order should have been studied seriously locally, in your department, inasmuch as the union ministry is far divorced from the real needs and circumstances of the republic, as has been practically demonstrated many times. In any case we rightfully assumed that you would try to protect the real interests of your republic, with regard for all of its unique features.

Concurrently we submit to you the demand that you restore normal and natural contact between this Latvian publication and union readers, compensating the people for the lost time (from 22 September to this date) by extending subscriptions by this amount of time.

I am writing on the instructions of the collective of the journal DAUGAVA.

V. Dozortsev

Editor-in-Chief

Please add our demands to those stated above:

M. Chaklays, editor-in-chief of the newspaper LITERATURA UN MAKSLA

A. Blinov, editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH

I. A. Klyavis, editor-in-chief of the journal RODNIK

G. Kurpnek, editor-in-chief of the journal GORIZONT

D. Tsaune, editor-in-chief of the journal LNESMA

E. Strod, editor-in-chief of the journal MAKSLA

M. Zile, editor-in-chief of the journal PADOMYU LATVIJAS SNEVNETE

Balto-Slavic Society Prepares Manifesto

Manifesto Outlines Goals

WA18000096 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH
in Russian 24 Sep 88 p 3

[Manifesto of the Balto-Slavic Society for Cultural Development and Cooperation]

[Text] Our hearts are burning with shame and bitterness. Time has passed through us, and we were all involved in what has passed. The burden of moral responsibility for trampling on human rights, for dying nature, for the breakdown of the economy, for the interethnic discord, for the decline of culture, for the spiritual impoverishment, and for the present and the future lie on the shoulders of our generation. Silence can no longer be maintained about the problems that exist. Yet it is not enough to merely talk about them. Integrity today lies in specific deeds.

The beneficial process of renewal began in our country in April 1985. Democratization is the only way to overcome alienation of the workers from property and of the people from power, the only way to implement the ideals of humanism, to take over the spiritual legacy and cultural wealth of all humanity, to make information accessible and to remove restrictions from its exchange, to authentically achieve the rights for development of peoples, nations, nationalities, and ethnic groups, to save the environment, and to create a state based on law. Only unification of all Soviet society can serve as a guarantee that these goals will be achieved. Unification not of faceless masses, but of individuals—bearers of the culture of their peoples, expressing themselves in free and creative work in every form of activity.

It is up to us ourselves to solve the problems of the home we share, together, in the context of the historical realities that have come about. We are disturbed by the development of destructive tendencies in relations among the nationalities. In advocating harmonious and equal development of all national cultures in Soviet Latvia, we resolutely oppose any manifestations of chauvinism and nationalism, national privileges and restrictions. We need to eradicate such shameful things as Stalinism, bureaucracy, monopolism, and the flourishing of corrupt clans.

The objective of the Balto-Slavic Society for Cultural Development and Cooperation is to take part in the process of restructuring by creating the conditions for development of the Belorussian, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, and other Slavic cultures in Latvia and to see that they interact with the cultures of the Lettish, Lithuanian, Estonian, and other peoples. We invest in the definition of culture the full diversity of this term—the culture of political and economic thinking, the culture of discussion and behavior, the culture of tolerance and self-awareness, the material and spiritual culture, and the culture of interethnic interchange.

We are ready for constructive cooperation with all public associations sharing the ideals of a democratic renewal of society.

Democracy, culture, and humanism—those are the words inscribed on our banners.

Letter to Latvian Presidium

WA18000096 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH
in Russian 24 Sep 88 p 3

[Open letter by the Coordinating Council of the Balto-Slavic Society for Cultural Development and Cooperation, dated Riga, 22 September 1988]

[Text] As the news media have reported, a special commission of the presidium of our republic's supreme soviet has prepared a draft amendment to the LaSSR Constitution defining the status of the Lettish language as an official language.

Settlement of this question is relevant to the interests of the entire population of Latvia. The Balto-Slavic Society for Cultural Development and Cooperation (BSO KRIS), whose program objective is to promote the consolidation of all inhabitants of the republic on the basis of mutual respect and development of the cultures of the nationalities, looks with understanding and sympathy toward the concern of the Letts as to the position and future of their native language.

We feel that the Lettish language must have the protection of the state, just like the Russian language, which is the language of interethnic communication for the Letts, the Belorussians, the Poles, the Jews, the Ukrainians, and other citizens of the republic and the native language of the Russian ethnic minority in the republic.

We feel that the Lettish language might be a language for interethnic communication in the republic simultaneously with the Russian language. But this has been hindered by distortions in the conduct of nationality policy. To be specific, more funds have been spent and are being spent to teach Russian as a second language than to teach Lettish in schools where instruction is in Russian.

The desire to correct the deformations and to guarantee equal use of the languages meets with ardent support from members of the Balto-Slavic Society for Cultural Development and Cooperation. With the proper government guarantees, the problems of the mechanical population growth and of proper upbringing would be solved by each succeeding generation. Latvia will be able to master the Lettish language.

But the emotional campaign directed toward immediate resolution of both the linguistic and all other contradictions that exist, which has been forcibly heated up by certain individuals and groups, is causing concern, since in our view it only aggravates the situation, because hasty steps that have not been sufficiently weighed will inevitably affect human destinies.

As is well known, a number of republics have declared the language of the indigenous nationality to be an official language. Without in principle rejecting this possibility for Latvia as well, we feel that a thoughtful approach should be taken to solving this problem, hearing all opinions, but that action should not be taken on the principle of analogy. We should recall that in an analysis of the tragic events in Nagorno-Karabakh local inhabitants listed among the other reasons for aggravation of interethnic relations that the Azerbaijani language had been awarded the status of an official language.

We feel that determination of the status of languages in LaSSR must proceed not from abstract deductions and theoretical constructs, but from the concrete historical conditions, and at the same time superiority should not be granted to one of the languages, as is obvious from

Article 36 of the USSR Constitution and Article 34 of the LaSSR Constitution. The Law on the Use of Languages must guarantee their legal and actual equality and not complicate people's lives.

For its part, the BSO KRIS assumes the obligation to support the efforts of the government to spread real bilingualism, to introduce up-to-date methods of teaching languages, to instill in the population a respect for and interest in the cultural riches and languages of multinational Latvia, and it offers its cooperation in working out recommendations and in organizing discussion.

In connection with what has been set forth above we call upon the republic's supreme soviet as follows:

1. to publish the conclusions and recommendations of the working group of the Presidium of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet;
2. in the drafts made of the amendment to the LaSSR Constitution and the law on use of languages that it unfailingly provide a detailed explanation of the meaning of all terms so as to preclude any possibility of their ambiguous interpretation. This applies above all to the category "official language" (*gosudarstvennyy yazyk*). These drafts (both of the supplement to the Constitution and of the law) must be published in the press in both languages simultaneously so that not only Letts, but also representatives of all the ethnic minorities of Soviet Latvia be able to take part in their discussion, since up to now this problem has been discussed mainly in the Lettish press;
3. that it offer the opportunity to the public of LaSSR to broadly and comprehensively familiarize itself with the shaping of legislation and the experience in use of the official language in the republics of the Transcaucasus;
4. that it inform the republic's public about the needs and real potential for financial, material, and personnel support of effective bilingualism, since by taking the language under its protection, the state, proceeding on principles of free education, places on itself the obligation to teach this language to its citizens and to finance that instruction from the budget;
5. the decision on the status of the language should be presented to the people of Latvian SSR, and the drafts of the amendment to the LaSSR Constitution and the Law on the Use of Languages should be put up to a referendum.

Profitable Cooperative Appeals Shutdown Order
WA18000087 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 20 Oct 88 p 2

[Article by S. Guluch and M. Kardashina, KOMSOMOLETS KUBANI correspondents, Krasnodar: "The 'Ekspress' Has Been Stopped"]

[Text] Pilots have an expression with a profound meaning—"nonroutine situation." Which means a situation not foreseen by any instructions, unprecedented. The

personnel of the Krasnodar City Ispolkom have had occasion to experience something of that kind. No question about it—it is not every day that the mail brings them court summonses. The gorispolkom has been summoned to court as a defendant. A civil suit has been lodged against it by the cooperative "Ekspress." The plaintiff has asked the court to set aside the decision of the ispolkom to shut down the cooperative....

A bit of history. The cooperative "Ekspress," offering transportation services to the public, was registered on 27 March of last year and black clouds became thick over it even after half a year. The city financial department submitted a recommendation that the cooperative be eliminated to a session of the city commission for self-employment. It is true that at that time the commission considered the arguments unconvincing.

Time passed. "Ekspress" had to make several amendments in its charter. Three times—last December and this May and June—the amendments were sent to the gorispolkom to be recorded. Alas, the members of the cooperative received no response to any of their messages. Only on 23 August did the commission for self-employment of the Leninsky Rayon Ispolkom in Krasnodar examine the new version of the charter; it found the amendments in conformity with law and recommended to the rayispolkom that they be confirmed. But 3 days later the Krasnodar Gorispolkom adopted a decision to...terminate the cooperative "Ekspress" for breaches of its charter.

By the time its termination was proposed "Ekspress" had carried more than a million passengers. At state unit prices, what is more, at 20 kopecks per kilometer. And this in a city which specialists estimate to have a shortage of about 100 taxis. In a city known for the exorbitant prices which the private operators charge for a trip. In 1.5 years the drivers of "Ekspress" did not have a single traffic accident. They had received dozens of expressions of gratitude from passengers. Not a single complaint was lodged for poor service. Every month the cooperative transferred 6,554 rubles to the state budget.

This figure is in fact the bone of contention. Last June Krasnodar was visited by N. Korolev, chairman of the Central Council of VDOAM [All-Russian Voluntary Society of Automobile Enthusiasts]. He noted at the time that for all the favorable points enumerated above the payments into the budget by the cooperative "Ekspress" could be considerably greater if all automobile enthusiasts were allowed to operate under permits. Even at that time the cost of a permit had reached 500 rubles, but this September the local authorities raised it to almost double that. Not everyone, you will agree, can afford to pay 1,000 rubles to operate as a carrier. What is more, by no means all of the 307 members of the cooperative "Ekspress" were then able to earn that amount. After all,

they operate as carriers after work at their regular jobs. In short, the cooperative refused the transition to permits, and the decision of the gorispolkom to terminate it was inevitable.

"We have not yet had such suits in our practice," relates S. Svashenko, chairman of the Pervomayskiy Rayon People's Court in Krasnodar, in which the case is to be heard. Fellow judges in other places have been literally "hanging" on the telephone and asking to be immediately notified as soon as the case is decided.

It is not just Sergey Nikolayevich's fellow judges who have been "hanging" on the telephone. There have also been many calls from the gorispolkom: He was advised from that quarter to let the case drag out, to send it through channels. The calculation was simple: While the case was traveling from one official office to another, you see, the 3 months the cooperative had to appeal the decision of the ispolkom would expire. But the time of "telephone" law is also expiring, and the Law on Cooperatives could not be clearer: a cooperative may appeal a decision both to the higher authority and also to the court. "Ekspress" had put its trust in the court. And it did so rightly.

The court convened. What arguments did the gorispolkom present in favor of its decision?

"'Ekspress' is not a socialist cooperative, since the means of production had not been socialized in it: the automobiles remain the personal property of the cooperative's members," said V. Mateyuk, head of the city financial department, for example, before the court. "What is more, there is no collective labor in the cooperative."

"What do you mean by collective labor?" The judge asked that it be spelled out.

"That is when we work together, we receive wages together, and we carry out joint measures...."

Those are the strange notions about cooperative principles held by the financial personnel of Krasnodar.

The court carefully heard the arguments of the parties. Article 15 of the Law on the Cooperative in the USSR reads: "The activity of a cooperative may also be terminated by decision of the executive committee of the soviet of people's deputies if the cooperative is operating at a loss and is insolvent and in those cases when the cooperative repeatedly or flagrantly violates legislation in spite of warnings."

The cooperative "Ekspress" is profitable, solvent, and it has received no warnings about violations. That is why the people's court set aside the decision of the gorispolkom to terminate "Ekspress."

"Today, there are few in the cooperatives who are thinking about us lawyers. But that is only today," assures L. Shishunova, the lawyer who defended the interests of "Ekspress." "Time itself is calling the tune: it is time to raise juridical sophistication to a new level if we are going to talk about creating a state based on law. The section which speaks about the possibility of turning to the court for help is, in my view, the best one in the Law on the Cooperative.

That might have been all there was to it. If it were not for a single "but." The decision of the gorispolkom to shut down "Ekspress" was based on a monolithic bureaucratic foundation—a corresponding decision of the ispolkom of the kray soviet of people's deputies which called for the members of the taxi cooperative to operate under permits. Such a decision could hardly gratify an inhabitant of the kray and its guests—everyone knows about the terrible rates of the "permit drivers." Isn't this method of replenishing the local budget a thing of the past?

"The cooperative 'Ekspress' is undermining the foundations of the state, the foundations of the state budget," said V. Mateyuk, head of the city financial department, during the trial.

The only "foundations" which the cooperative "Ekspress" is actually undermining are those which are causing doubts as to their effectiveness. The foundations of the administrative approach and the dictate. One gets the impression that a local version of the Law on the Cooperative is in effect in Krasnodar.

"We did win some kind of a victory," V. Bogatyrev, the cooperative's chairman, said as we were parting. "But the decision of the krayispolkom still stands. And that provides a source of further conflicts."

Chernobyl Link With Child Illness Ruled Out
*AU0311145988 Paris AFP in English 1430 GMT
3 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow, Nov 3 (AFP)—Medical officials have ruled out any link between the 1986 nuclear disaster at Chernobyl and a mysterious illness that has struck at least 90 children in the Ukrainian town of Chernovtsy.

Chernovtsy is located 250 miles (400 kilometers) southwest of Chernobyl, site of the world's worst civilian nuclear disaster in April 1986, which sent radioactivity levels in the Ukraine soaring.

Ivan Penishkievich, medical officer for the Chernovtsy region, told AFP by telephone that experts from Kiev, the Ukraine capital, were positive that the disease was not due to radiation, after testing blood and air samples.

The disease, affecting children aged one-and-a-half to seven, involves loss of hair and nervous disorders. Some have been hospitalized for two months and two or three new cases are being reported daily, according to press reports.

Sixty-six children were now under treatment in Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev, and 24 were hospitalized at Chernovtsy, Mr. Penishkievich said.

Early symptoms include sore throats and eyes, followed two weeks later by a general fatigue, irritability, and total loss of hair, he said. Cases of hallucinations have also been recorded.

The disease was probably due to a chemical substance or a virus, Mr. Penishkievich added, but lead poisoning may also be a cause, as most cases were found in old quarters of Chernovtsy where lead water pipes were still common.

The Health Ministry has sent several experts to the Ukrainian town to check on the epidemic, Mr. Penishkievich said.

Agricultural

Gorbachev Addresses CPSU CC on Food Supply
*LD0311211788 Moscow TASS in English 2109 GMT
3 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 3 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said that the food supply is now the cardinal question of the domestic policy of the USSR. He spoke on Wednesday at a conference of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party with leaders of central bodies, ministries and their agencies. The conference discussed the course of the implementation of the party's and government's decisions to improve the population's supply with food, to accelerate the social and economic development and scientific and technical progress in the agro-industrial complex.

Mikhail Gorbachev said that the process of restructuring economic relations in the rural areas will be developed to enhance the interest of people in the results of their work, in increasing the quantity and improving the quality of products. At the same time the speaker emphasized that without the appropriate material and technical base, contemporary technologies and well organized processing and storage of products the required progress cannot be achieved.

"First of all it is necessary to supply collective and state farms with systems of machinery, fertilizer, means of plant protection so that they could use new technologies and resolve questions of processing. These are the main priorities in the agrarian complex which is of priority importance itself," Mikhail Gorbachev said.

The speaker pointed to the need to plan the 13th five year period (1991-1995) in such a way as to complete comprehensive mechanisation in the agrarian-industrial complex. "According to our estimates, we have real potentialities for this", Mikhail Gorbachev said.

"Social reconstruction of the village will remain alongside these questions today and tomorrow. This theme should keynote all the efforts", the speaker said.

"What is now being done to create a basis for the reconstruction of the village is good. But it is necessary to close the gaps in the agrarian sector, solve the tasks through the overhaul, and somewhere through the construction of new enterprises", Mikhail Gorbachev said.

He said that it is only the effort of the whole country drawing on all the might of the national economic complex that can resolve the food problem.

Food Supply Main Issue

LD0311233388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
2000 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Excerpts] A conference was held on 2 November at the CPSU Central Committee with heads of central bodies, ministries, and departments. The conference examined the progress achieved in fulfilling party and government decisions on improving food supplies to the population, on accelerating social and economic development, and on scientific-technical progress in the country's agro-industrial complex, as the most immediate and pressing tasks of restructuring. Here's an account of that conference. It was opened by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He said:

Today's discussion is a continuation of our work concerning the development of the agro-industrial complex. There are two strands here. On the one hand, there is the solution of questions for the Central Committee plenum. The discussion there should be a very serious one in every respect, both with regard to examining current problems and drawing up a long-term policy. On the other hand, it is now no less important that we concentrate more and more on specific work. The center of gravity must now be shifted to fulfilling the decisions already adopted. Otherwise we shall end up in the situation in which we have frequently ended up in the past. If one is to judge by decisions, there were always plenty of them and perhaps even a surplus, but there was not enough work done on implementing them.

Moreover, this work is now connected with a thorough revision of many of our approaches, both in the economy and the political process, and here everyone must work a great deal harder. This requires enormous energy, from the Central Committee, from the Government, and from all of you, heads of central bodies, ministries, and departments. I ask you to understand this. Among all our

problems the most pressing—I would say extraordinarily so—is that of the agrarian sector and food supplies. And if we were now to place 80 kg of meat a year on the consumer's table, all the other supply problems would be less severe. Milk consumption in our country, for instance, is much higher than in the United States, but the meat shortage raises the demand for milk and everything made from milk, and for other products. I would go further and say that the shortage of meat products is an issue that worries the entire country.

The food question is one that concerns the entire country, the entire national economy, and all its industries. To take meat again, it means fodder, and fodder means a harvest, and a harvest means fertilizers and new technology; it means machinery systems, personnel, people with a vested interest, and much more besides. And we have to resolve all these questions.

At the previous meeting in the Central Committee we had a discussion with local workers on restructuring economic relations in the countryside in order to ensure that people really do have an interest in the results of their labor, that they produce more, and supply better quality output. We are going to advance this process: In the near future we are going to have a discussion on this subject with the first secretaries of the republican Communist Party central committees, party kraykoms, and obkoms. However, comrades, without the appropriate material and technical base, without modern technologies, and without well organized processing and storage of produce, none of the required breakthroughs will occur. This means that we have to put in some very hard specific work in all these areas based on the decisions we have already adopted.

We are all concerned that many decisions are failing, that many are not being carried out, are being frustrated, or are being put off until later. Old habits are making themselves felt once again: We work so long as we are, figuratively speaking, being hit. Let's break free of that pernicious style.

It is particularly necessary to single out things that concern our departments with regard to mechanization, chemicalization, construction, and processing. Our defense people have made a good start. They have made many interesting plans; they've even done some things already, but the main work is still ahead. I say in the presence of everyone: Objectives [obyekty] in agriculture, in the whole agrarian sector, and in everything that helps us to resolve the food problem must not be dragged out or postponed by us. Maybe something else, also important, will have to be squeezed out. But the food question must be solved at all costs. Don't over simplify that matter. It is now the main issue of domestic policy.

Let's arrange our exchange in this way: Report on how business is proceeding and say what has been done, what has not been done, and how any particular matter is to be put right. [passage indistinct]

Olshanskiy, USSR minister of mineral fertilizer production, stated that the industry's enterprises are striving to provide kolkhozes and sovkhoses with as much mineral fertilizer as possible—and, moreover, with phosphorous fertilizers, which are in the shortest supply. The minister also spoke about the causes of slow introduction and mastering new production capacities for increasing the output of fertilizers. We have not managed, he stressed, to overcome the resistance of individual local party and soviet organs.

Gorbachev replied saying: Comrade Olshanskiy, you need to be more careful with an expression like overcome the resistance. I remember the time when I was still working in the Stavropol region. We usually deployed our productive forces where such a ministry badgered us to do so, although there were no people there, there was no work for anybody to do, and an ecological strain was forming. And second, as a rule, where there is a construction organization, there is construction too. What sort of a deployment of productive forces is that? Surely one cannot conduct affairs like that? [passage indistinct]

Summing up the results of the conference, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said:

I would sum up our meeting as follows: The most important result so far is that everyone has an understanding of the significance of the food question, an understanding of the fact that we can only cope with this problem by involving the whole country, and by engaging the entire might of our national economic complex. I think that without a psychological restructuring of our cadres which head the country's national economic complex we shall not resolve the food question.

We did not organize the discussion at the Central Committee because the Council of Ministers is failing to pursue this work. Something else is involved, comrades. I want in the Central Committee once again to tell communists and the heads of the central bodies and of all our departments that we need a breakthrough on the foodstuffs front in the immediate future. The decisions have been adopted. Everyone has understood them and begun to implement them. I can see that in the Gosplan framework too, thorough structural switches have been effected in the direction of the agro-industrial complex. Things must be done in such a way that all decisions are unfailingly implemented.

Following the present discussion it is necessary to deal with everything one can even this year. Every ministry must enter the working tempo laid down in the decisions.

Here's what I also think. The amount of work is vast. But this priority work also has its priorities. For the majority of the country's regions, the main issue is the restructuring of economic relations. Yes, we are dissatisfied with the material and technical base of the countryside and of the agro-industrial complex. It is not yet comprehensive in nature, this is true. But even in existing conditions, in

the framework of new production relations, when people are themselves beginning to carry on economic management, when they plan the end results themselves, struggle for them, and know that their circumstances are related to them, people are advancing matters well.

For this reason our first discussion in the Central Committee was devoted to this topic, when we put all other matters to one side and said: Today the main thing is leasing relations and the restructuring of production relations in the countryside. The USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and the local agro-industrial bodies must use the winter season to work on these questions. This body will soon hold another such discussion with the first secretaries in order that they may underpin this movement with the power of the party. It is now necessary to work with the people and not push them into lease contracting. At the same time, we must not let things drift here either. Matters must be constructed on the basis of in-depth work with people and—this is the main thing—by demonstrating the advantages of this cause. There already are things to serve as a demonstration in all regions and for all crops. This has already been tried and approved. Thorough work has to be done in order to underpin even further the trend of development in leasing relations and ongoing deep financial autonomy in the countryside.

Let me say frankly that much depends on the comrades present in this conference room—both current matters and future ones. Today it is of primary importance to give the kolkhozes and sovkhoses fertilizers and crop protection agents in addition to new technologies and machine systems, and to tackle the problems of processing. These are the main priorities in the whole of the priority agrarian complex. They must be (?singled out and held on to) and not let go of. There is everything to be done here. We must proceed on the basis that there are two main issues for the whole economy now: The restructuring of economic relations, and scientific-technical progress. [Passage indistinct].

In this respect the State Planning Committee needs to work out everything particularly well, to pay attention primarily to what we have been speaking of—to technology and processing—and to plan the 13th 5-year Plan in order to complete the comprehensive mechanization of the agro-industrial complex. According to our calculations we do have a realistic opportunity to achieve this.

Alongside these issues, of course, comrades, at the present time and in the future there remains the social reorganization of the countryside. People have sensed that the state is turning to the countryside, and they are immediately responding to this attention. Here is an example: KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA called on young boys and girls to go to the Non-Chernozem Zone. The newspaper's editorial office received 120,000 letters, and 20,000 people have either already gone there or received an invitation. People have trust and understand our plans and are going to new places. This, comrades, will be of colossal importance. After all, this is a zone of

guaranteed production of agricultural produce. There is water there, a certain standard of crop farming and specialization—above all in livestock farming—has developed, and it is possible to have large volumes of meat and milk production there. Indeed, the share of Russia's Non-Chernozem Zone in the production of

these products is already large. It is, however, much lower than its potential. Everything can be developed much more extensively there. There are large towns everywhere and enormous requirements. The people will go there, if the plans for the social development of the Non-Chernozem Zone are fulfilled. [passage indistinct]